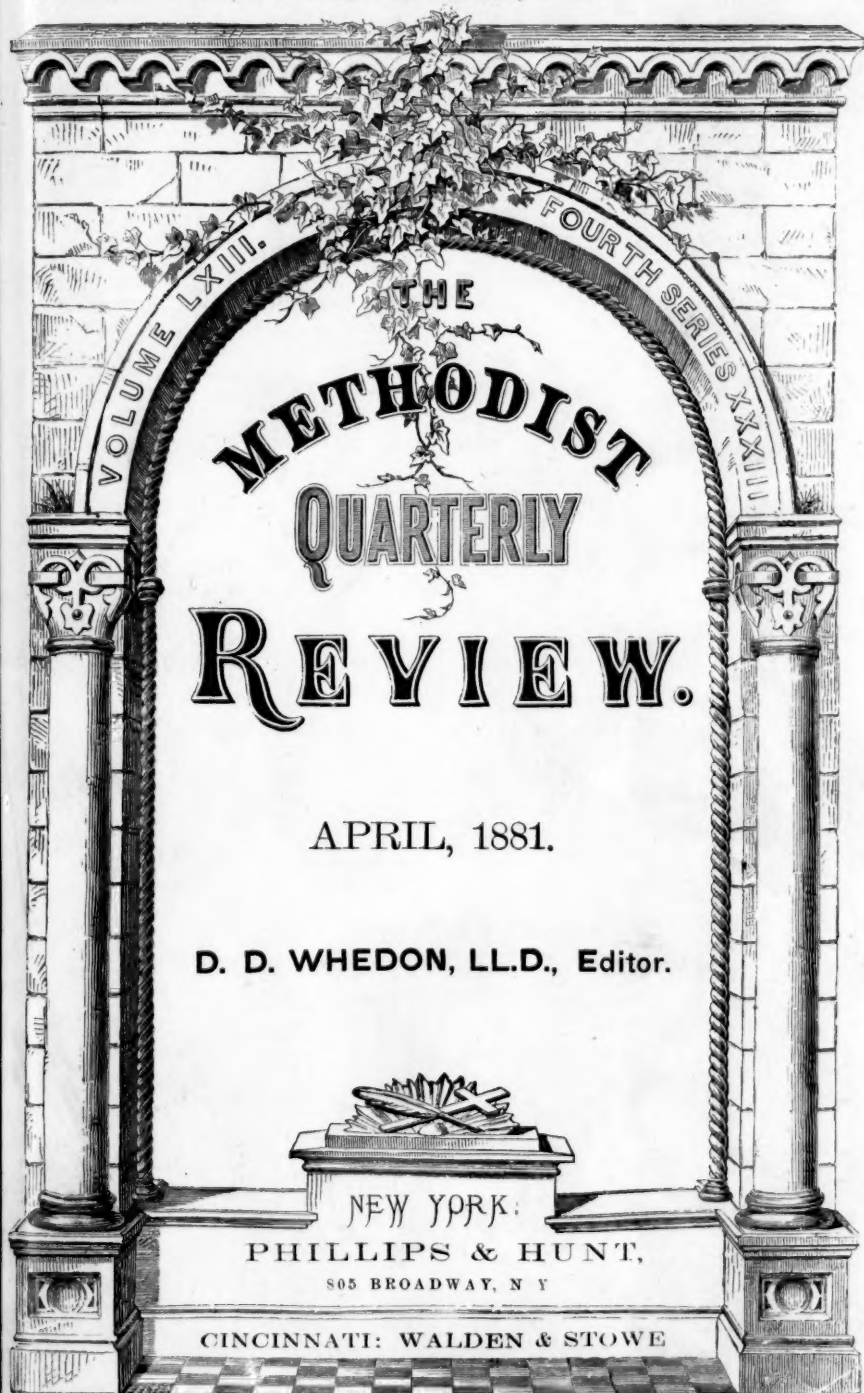


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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1881.

ART. I.—MAN'S PLACE IN TIME.

Preadamites ; or, A Demonstration of the Existence of Man before Adam. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

Early Man in Britain and His Place in the Tertiary Period. By W. BOYD DAWKINS, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

The Auriferous Gravels of the Sierra Nevada of California. By J. D. WHITNEY. Cambridge: Printed by the University Press. 1879.

It is now nearly forty years since M. Boucher de Perthes and the Danish archaeologists laid the foundation of the science of prehistoric archaeology. The former, in 1844, announced his discoveries of implements of human workmanship in the drift of the Somme Valley, and earlier than that Thomsen, Worsaae, and others had unearthed "the primeval antiquities of Denmark," and formulated their theory of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages, as based on the discoveries made in the Danish peat-bogs, stone-graves, and shell-mounds. Some ten or fifteen years later Dr. Keller brought to light the relics of man which had slept for so many years beneath the waves of the Swiss lakes; and contemporaneously with these explorations Bateman and Thurnam commenced their diggings into the ancient British barrows. The results of all these investigations were first collected and laid before the British public in 1863 by Sir Charles Lyell in his famous work on "The Antiquity of Man," and in 1865 by Sir John Lubbock in his "Prehistoric Times." After it rained it soon began to pour, and the evidences of the

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antiquity of man seemed to multiply in every direction. Egyptian pottery was found at the depth of sixty feet in the mud of the Nile; human bones were reported from the coral rock of Florida; a human skeleton was found near New Orleans, whose age was estimated at nearly 60,000 years; a number of primitive canoes were found buried in the earth at a depth of from five to twenty-five feet from the surface, some of them twenty feet above high-water mark, near the city of Glasgow; stone axes were found in the river gravels of India associated with the bones of extinct animals; tombs, assigned to the Bronze Age, were found intact under the peperino, or volcanic tufa, in the neighborhood of Rome; arrowheads and pottery were found in association with the bones of the mastodon and mammoth in the United States; human bones were found with those of the elephant in the volcanic breccia of Puy de Dôme, in Central France; perforated sharks' teeth were found in the Pliocene beds of the east coasts of England; strange stories were told before scientific associations of human skulls found in the heart of Table Mountain, California. There were so many converging lines of evidence, and the authority on which the facts were given, or vouched for, was so high—men like Lyell, Wallace, Owen, Lubbock, Huxley, De Quatrefages, De Mortillet, Broca, Virchow, Dana, Cope—that the received Mosaic chronology was almost dropped by general consent, and the enemies of Christianity congratulated themselves that a ball at last had been driven through the sacred roll of the Hebrew books.

The age of the "artisans of the drift"—the men of the river gravels—was variously estimated at from 100,000 to 500,000 years. Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace calculated that the worked flints found beneath the stalagmitic floors in Kent's Cavern at Torquay had lain there 500,000 years, and another scientist expressed the opinion that they were even 1,000,000 years old. Sir Charles Lyell referred the gravels of the Somme Valley to the close of the Glacial Epoch, whose date he fixed at 800,000 years ago.

But in 1863 M. Desnoyers reported to the French Academy of Sciences that he had discovered far older traces of man than most of these in the upper Pliocene beds of St. Prest, and about the same time a similar discovery in Italy was reported to the

Italian Society of Natural Sciences by Professor Ramorino. Nor did the discoveries stop here. M. Bourgeois, in 1869, claimed that he had found flints chipped into cutting implements by man in the Calcaire de Beauce, near Pontlevoy, in France,* some of which had been subjected to the action of fire. It was this same year that Professor J. D. Whitney submitted to the American Association for the Advancement of Science the famous Calaveras skull found in the heart of Table Mountain, California, under 130 feet of volcanic and other deposits.

In 1874 Professor James Geikie, F.R.S.E., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of Scotland, published his well-known work, "The Great Ice Age, and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man." At the close of the volume he placed the following *addendum*:

POSTSCRIPT. A remarkable discovery has just been announced. Mr. Tiddeman writes to "Nature," Nov. 6, 1873, that among a number of bones obtained during the exploration of the Victoria Cave, near Settle, Yorkshire, there is one which Mr. Busk has identified as *human*. Mr. Busk says: "The bone is, I have no doubt, human; a portion of an unusually clumsy fibula, and in that respect not unlike the same bone in the Mentone skeleton! The interest of this discovery consists in the fact that the deposit from which the bone was obtained is overlaid, as Mr. Tiddeman has shown, by a bed of stiff glacial clay containing ice-scratched boulders." Here, then, is direct proof that man lived *prior to the last inter-glacial period*. I have said above (p. 472) that it is highly likely that man may have occupied Britain in early inter-glacial or pre-glacial times; but I hardly looked for so early and complete a confirmation of views which I first published in the beginning of 1872.

The same year that Mr. Geikie's work appeared, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., Curator of the Museum and Lecturer in Geology to the Owens College, Manchester, published his work on "Cave-Hunting," and in

* Just here we want to say, that if (as alleged) these flints found in the Miocene strata are (as they are) pronounced artificial by archæological experts in France, then a very grave doubt is thrown over the artificial character of the quaternary flints from the Somme Valley. It is certain that no flints were chipped by man in the middle tertiary period, and if the flints of Thenay, which have deceived De Mortillet, Cartailhac, and others who profess to understand the subject, are really only natural forms, (like those found by Professor Hayden on the buttes at the base of the Uintah Mountains,) then it is very probable that the discoveries of M. Boucher de Perthes are all a delusion.

this he also referred to the discovery of the human fibula under the glacial clay in the Victoria Cave, and stated that it established the pre-glacial age of man.

In 1875 Professor Rüttimeyer, of Switzerland, announced in "*Archiv für Anthropologie*" that traces of basket-work and certain sharpened sticks had been found in a glacial bed at Dürnten, in the canton of Zurich.

Certain cut bones have also been reported recently from the Pliocene of Italy by Professor Capellini. It is on these numerous announcements—beginning with the Danish archæologists and M. Boucher de Perthes—that the opinion has grown up with regard to man's immense antiquity.

Two notable works on the subject have appeared within the past year; one by a well-known English geologist, and the other by a well-known American geologist—Professor Dawkins' "*Early Man in Britain*," and Professor Alexander Winchell's "*Preadamites*." Professor Dawkins is, perhaps, the best-informed man on the subject in Europe—at once geologist, palæontologist, and archæologist. Professor Winchell fills the chair of geology and palæontology in the University of Michigan, is the author of several well-known scientific works, and has made a study of anthropology for many years.

The evidence for the antiquity of man has been very much impaired in the past ten years; in fact, most of it has fairly broken down, as will appear in the course of this article.

The works by Professors Dawkins and Winchell which we have mentioned appeared about the same time last year; and it is a remarkable fact, that while both are written to establish the remote antiquity of the human race, the one is an answer to the other, and that they mutually destroy each other. Professor Dawkins undertakes to prove that man appeared on the earth in what he calls the Middle Pleistocene Period—after the glaciation and submergence of the land during the Great Ice Age—but argues that all the evidences for the existence of man in the Tertiary Era are unreliable and worthless; and not only so, but that, from a palæontological point of view, tertiary man is an improbability, if not an impossibility.

Professor Winchell, on the other hand, points out that the "middle pleistocene" or "palæolithic" man of Professor Dawkins is not older than "from 6,000 to 10,000 years," but argues

at the same time for the existence of man as far back in geological time as the Middle Tertiary—so that one argument devours the other. If Professor Dawkins' book is a trustworthy book, Professor Winchell's is entirely fanciful; and if Professor Winchell's work is trustworthy, that of Professor Dawkins is all wrong.

Professor Dawkins rests his opinion on the discovery of the relics of man in the bone-caves and river-gravels under conditions implying great changes since in the physical geography of the country, and in association with the remains of great pachyderms and carnivores now extinct. To this Professor Winchell replies :

When we come now to investigate the antiquity of the Stone Folk in Europe, it becomes simply an investigation of the remoteness of the last glaciation of the Northern Hemisphere. Many geologists have expressed the opinion that this is measured by tens, if not by hundreds, of thousands of years. I propose to explain concisely the grounds on which such estimates have been based, and to show that they are far from conclusive.

He then considers, 1. The astronomical hypothesis of glacial periods, and rejects it. 2. The contemporaneousness of man with animals now extinct. He points out in this connection that geologists have been mistaken in the opinion that animal extinctions date back to a remote period. Extinctions of species, he affirms, have taken place within the scope of human memory and tradition. He cites the gigantic birds of New Zealand, of Madagascar, and of Mauritius. He refers to the great auk of Newfoundland, and the Labrador duck; also to the capercaillie of Denmark, the aurochs, the great trees of California, etc. He states that he himself has exhumed the remains of the mammoth in Michigan from a deposit of peat not over eighteen inches deep; that a pipe has been obtained from the mounds near Davenport, Iowa, carved in the form of an elephant; that the Irish elk has left its bones in the bogs of Ireland, and that this species, in fact, is known to have survived till the fourteenth century. 3. The magnitude of the geological changes since man's advent. These, he thinks, need not imply a great lapse of time. He says :

We are in the midst of great changes, and are scarcely conscious of it. We have seen worlds in flames, and have felt a

comet strike the earth. We have seen the whole coast of South America lifted up bodily ten or fifteen feet and let down again in an hour. We have seen the Andes sink 220 feet in 70 years. . . . Vast transportations have also taken place in the coast-line of China. . . . We have seen the glaciers make progress in their retreat and disappearance. An ice-peak in the Tyrolese Alps has lowered eighteen feet in a few years. The Mer de Glace is a hundred feet lower or thinner than it was thirty years ago. . . . The Indians saw Lake Michigan spread its waters over Illinois. . . . The land at New Orleans grows seaward 338 feet annually. . . . Dr. Lanoye makes the delta of the Nile but 6,350 years old. . . . The Greeks retained a tradition of great hydrographic changes about the Black Sea. The Symplegades, or floating islands, were only landmarks which changed their position relatively to the changing shore-line. There was a time when the rocky barriers of the Thracian Bosphorus gave way and the Black Sea subsided. . . . During its former high level it was confluent with the Caspian and Aral seas, and thus another Mediterranean stretched eastward beyond the Dardanelles.

He concludes his review of these points as follows:

Whether, then, we consider the magnitude of the geological changes since the advent of European man, or his contemporaneity with animals now extinct, or his succession upon the continental glacier, we *do not* discover valid grounds for assuming him removed by a distance exceeding six to ten thousand years.—Pp. 431-441.

If we may trust these conclusions of Professor Winchell, "Early Man in Britain" has been written in vain—it is a mass of misdirected learning. Professor Winchell might have said even more than he has done on the points in question—we presume he merely meant to touch them. He might have cited, in connection with the extinction of animals, the disappearance of the reindeer from Central and Western Europe since the beginning of the Christian era. It was one of the capital points urged by Lyell and Lubbock, that in the days of the "Cave-men" the climate of France must have been intensely cold, because the reindeer ranged to the foot of the Pyrenees; but Professor Dawkins now admits that it was still in Germany in the time of Cæsar, ("Cave-Hunting," p. 79,) and we know that in the north of Scotland it survived to the twelfth century. Our learned author might have referred also to the disappearance of the elephant, rhinoceros, and lion from Northern India within a few centuries; to the condition of the carcasses of the

mammoth and rhinoceros found in the frozen sands of Siberia; to the presence of the lion in the mountains of Thrace in the time of Pausanias; to the existence of the hippopotamus in India in the time of Alexander the Great; to the existence of the elephant on the banks of the Tigris, probably as late as 800 B. C.

He might have added to his citations of geographical changes the elevation of the land at Linde, in Sweden, 230 feet since the date of the neolithic shell-heaps in Denmark; to the elevation of the coasts of Norway 600 feet since the adjacent seas were characterized by their present temperature; to the elevation of 200 feet at Uddevalla, in Sweden; to the elevation of the island of San Lorenzo, (near Callao;) to the discovery of pottery in a marine deposit 150 feet above the sea on the coast of South America.

It abundantly appears, however, that the American professor does not believe in the antiquity of the relics found in the river-gravels and bone-caves of Europe. What, then, is his theory? It is this: That primeval man appeared, perhaps, in the Miocene Period (middle tertiary) on an ancient continent, now submerged, which lay in the Indian Ocean between Africa and South-eastern Asia—a continent called by Milne-Edwards the Mascarene Continent, and by others *Lemuria*. Professor Winchell does not produce any evidence to sustain this opinion, for neither the continent nor the human remains have ever been traced. It is confessedly a mere conjecture, framed to account for the absence of all traces of tertiary man on the existing continents; when, according to Professor Winchell, man must have existed *somewhere* at that time. His principal reason for believing that man has been on the earth during all these long ages is, that it is necessary to hold this opinion in order to account for the differentiation of the white, brown, and black races of men, and their dispersion over the widely-separated continents and islands of the globe—a differentiation which already existed, as seen on the monuments, at a very early period of the Egyptian monarchy.

But it is here that the British professor comes forward with equal learning to show that this view is improbable, if not impossible. Professor Dawkins believes in evolution, and would be glad, no doubt, to draw upon the long ages of the Miocene

and Pliocene Periods to obtain the requisite time for the development of man; but, despite this bias, he is compelled by the palaeontological facts and the absence of all unequivocal traces of man in the tertiary beds, to refuse his assent to the conclusion reached by Professor Winchell:

Was man [he asks] an inhabitant of Europe in the Miocene Age? The climate [he says] was favorable, and the food, animal and vegetable, was most abundant. . . . Miocene Europe was fitted to be the birthplace of man, in the warm climate and in the abundance of food. There is, however, one most important consideration which renders it highly improbable that man was then living in any part of the world. No living species of land mammal has been met with in the Miocene fauna. Man, the most highly specialized of all creatures, had no place in a fauna which is conspicuous by the absence of all the mammalia associated with him.

There is no answer to be made to this; none has ever been attempted. He goes on:

Were any man-like animal living in the Miocene Age, he might reasonably be expected to be not man, but intermediate between man and something else, to bear the same relation to ourselves as the Miocene apes, such as the *Mesopithecus*, bear to those now living, such as the *Semnopithecus*. If, however, we accept the evidence advanced in favor of Miocene man, it is incredible that he alone of all the mammalia living in those times in Europe should not have perished, or have changed into some other form in the long lapse of ages during which many Miocene genera and all the Miocene species have become extinct. Those who believe in the doctrine of evolution will see the full force of this argument against the presence of man in the Miocene fauna, not merely of Europe but of the whole world.

He then refers to the splinters of flint found by the Abbé Bourgeois (and attributed to man) in the mid-Miocene strata at Thenay, and to the notched rib of the *Halitherium* found by M. Delaunay at Pouancé, and remarks that if these marks be artificial, then he would suggest that "they were made by one of the higher apes." "As the evidence stands at present," he concludes, "we have no satisfactory proof either of the existence of man in the Miocene, or of any creature nearer akin to him than the anthropomorphous apes."—Page 68.

In the chapter which follows Professor Dawkins proceeds to ask further, Whether man may not have appeared in the

Pliocene Age? He notices the human skull found by Professor Cocchi in a railway cutting at Olmo, near Arezzo, at a depth of nearly fifty feet from the surface. Unfortunately it was found with a Neolithic flint implement, which is fatal to its pretensions. He then refers to the notched bones described by Professor Capellini from the Pliocene of Tuscany, and finds the evidence here also unsatisfactory. They were found with pottery which, he says, was unknown in Europe even in the Pleistocene or Palæolithic Age. He concludes:

There is one argument against the probability of man having lived in Europe in Pliocene times which seems to me unanswerable. Twenty-one fossil mammalia have been recently proved by Dr. Forsyth Major to have inhabited Tuscany in the Pliocene Age; of these there is only one species—the hippopotamus—now alive on the earth. It is to my mind to the last degree improbable that man, the most highly specialized of the animal kingdom, should have been present in such a fauna as this, composed of so many extinct species. They belong to one stage of evolution, and man to another and a later stage. . . . As the evidence stands at present the geological record is silent as to man's appearance in Europe in the Pliocene Age. It is very improbable that he will ever be proved to have lived in this quarter of the world at that remote time, since of all the European mammalia then alive only one has survived to our own day.—Pp. 90-93.

This opinion with regard to the existence of tertiary man is not confined to Professor Dawkins. The same conclusion was formally enunciated a few years since by the Anthropological Society of London, and in an address before the Department of Anthropology, in the Biological Section of the British Association, in 1878, Professor Huxley said:

That we can get back as far as the epoch of the Drift is, I think, beyond any rational question or doubt; . . . but when it comes to a question as to the evidence of tracing back man further than that—and recollect drift is only the scum of the earth's surface—I must confess that to my mind the evidence is of a very dubious character.

It abundantly appears, therefore, from the quotations we have made, that the science of Prehistoric Archaeology is in a fair way to be devoured by its own advocates—like Actæon by his own dogs; and we might, perhaps, leave the subject in their hands, confident that, like the "Destructive Criticism" of the German biblical scholars, it will end in the illustration

and the confirmation of the historical accuracy of the biblical records.

The history of this science is full of instruction as to the danger of generalizing too rapidly in scientific matters on imperfectly understood facts. It would seem almost incredible that, ten years ago, men like Lyell, Lubbock, Owen, Busk, Geikie, De Quatrefages, Broca, Morlot, De Mortillet, Lartet, Agassiz, should have blindly accepted all the wild theories of enthusiastic antiquaries with regard to the ages of stone, bronze, and iron, and the antiquity of the races whose implements or bones were found in the barrows, the lake-beds, the refuse piles, the peat, and the caves of Europe. In nearly all these cases, once so confidently relied on to prove the antiquity of man, the evidence, as previously remarked, has broken down. We hear little or nothing now about the stone circles, the cromlechs, the cairns, the tumuli, which exercised so powerfully the imagination of Thurnam, Greenwell, Rolleston, and Lubbock in connection with the primitive inhabitants of Britain. So many discoveries have been made establishing the fact that many of these graves are even later than the advance of the Romans into Northern Europe, and that none of them carry evidence of any very remarkable antiquity, that this branch of the evidence seems silently to have dropped out of archaeological literature. The same remark is true of the speculations which were based on the relics found in the peat-bogs, in the lake-dwellings, and in the shell-heaps. More careful inquiries showed that peat frequently formed with great rapidity, and objects were found in the lowest layers of the French, Danish, and Irish bogs, which belonged to the Roman or even more recent periods; as the boat freighted with Roman bricks at the bottom of the Abbeville peat, the Roman axes and coins in Hatfield Moss, etc. With regard to the antiquity of the lake-dwellers, Professor Winchell informs us "that, in many instances, the *débris* from lacustrine villages have yielded Roman coins and other works of Roman art;" and that "the latest pile habitations come down to the sixth century." He might have stated that at the Stockholm meeting of the Anthropological Society in 1874, Professor Virchow presented evidence to show that these settlements were in existence in Sweden and Pomerania as late as the tenth century.

Sir John Lubbock was so impressed with the primitive character of the flint implements obtained from the Danish shell-heaps, and with the circumstances under which they were found, that he assigned to them, in his work on "*Prehistoric Times*," a very high antiquity. He considered them pre-Neolithic, while Professor Worsaae, of Denmark, assigned them to the Palaeolithic Age. The Rev. Dunbar Heath, F.R.S.L., made them still older; he referred them to a race of mutes at the close of the Tertiary Era. It turned out that they had no very special antiquity; that similar refuse heaps of Roman date occur in the Channel Islands; that the extreme rudeness of the implements was due to the rude condition of the wretched fishermen who formerly inhabited the Danish islands; and, finally, in one of them, where the objects were more primitive in their form and workmanship than in most of the others, to wit, at Samsingerbanken, M. Valdemar Smith reports that objects of bronze have been met with.

The stalagmitic floors were in the beginning greatly relied on as evidences of the great lapse of time since the bone-caves were inhabited by man. Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace was so impressed with the facts in this connection at Kent's Hole, that, as we have previously noticed, he calculated the antiquity of the bone and stone objects found below the stalagmite to be as great as 500,000 years. But in "*Early Man in Britain*" Professor Dawkins observes: "This, (the stalagmite,) however, offers no measure of the interval, . . . because the rate of accumulation depends upon the currents of air in the caves and the amount of water passing through the limestone, both of which are variables." "In the Ingleborough Cave," he says, "it has been so swift that, between 1845 and 1873, a stalagmitic boss, known as the Jockey Cap, has grown at the rate of .2,941 inch per annum," and, as he remarks elsewhere, "from this instance of rapid accumulation, the value of a layer of stalagmite in measuring the antiquity of deposits below it is comparatively little."

Equal discredit has been thrown upon "the fossil man of Denise," "the fossil man of Guadaloupe," "the fossil man of Florida," "the fossil man of New Orleans," "the fossil man of Natchez," Dr. Horner's Egyptian pottery, the cone of the Tinière, the canoes buried in the silt at Glasgow, the tombs of

the Bronze Age under the peperino in Italy, the perforated sharks' teeth from the English crag, etc.

The human fibula discovered under the glacial clay in the Victoria Cave, which was so formally and seriously indorsed by Professors Geikie and Dawkins, it is now ascertained belonged to a bear; and the basket-work and sharpened sticks described by Professor Rüttimeyer from the glacial beds of Switzerland, are also given up by Professor Dawkins in his work now before us.

The evidence has, in fact, given way all along the line, except at one point, and this is the implements, so-called, found in the gravel-beds. We consider that nothing else remains to prehistoric archaeology but this point; no room is left, we mean, for any contention except just here. Professor Dawkins presses this point with great learning and ability. But we have already explained that Professor Winchell, in view of all the evidence, reaches the conclusion that a very exaggerated importance has been given to the physical changes and other phenomena relied on in this connection. It all, as he says, depends on the date of the Glacial Age, and the close of this epoch he fixes at some 6,000 or 10,000 years ago. There is one fact that has always seemed to us decisive in this matter of the approximate date of the Glacial Age—one which has never been replied to by the advocates of the remote date of that period. That fact is this: no palæolithic implements have ever been found north of a certain line; none have been found in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Scotland, or the north of England. The explanation given of this by Lyell is, that the ice had not retired from these northerly regions when the men of the First Stone Age lived in the Valley of the Somme. Nor have the remains of the great extinct animals been found in Scandinavia. The Glacial Age still lingered in these regions: when did the ice retreat? The first trace of man in Scotland, the north of England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Ireland, is in connection with the implements of the Polished Stone Age. This will fix the date of the retreat of the glaciers, or, more strictly, perhaps, of the glacial seas, if we can fix the date of the Polished Stone Age. It was certainly not more than 5,500 years, probably not over 3,500 years, ago. It is the date of the older lake-dwellings.

The conceit of Professor Winchell about the lost continent in the Indian Ocean is not only unsupported by facts, but it is—we say it most respectfully—unscientific. Dana lays it down as a fundamental principle, in his “Manual of Geology,” (the greatest, we believe, that has ever been published,) that the continents were outlined as we now know them from the beginning, and that the continents and oceans have never changed places. The continents have often, in geological time, been submerged to a greater or less degree, but they lay at comparatively shallow depths under the invading oceans. Referring to the relations of the North American Archæan areas to the continent, he says:

The evolution of the grand structure-lines of the continent was hence early commenced, and the system thus initiated was the system to the end. Here is one strong reason for concluding that the continents have always been continents; that, while portions may at times have been submerged some thousands of feet, the continents have never changed places with the oceans.—*Manual*, sec. edit., p. 160.

Le Conte teaches the same doctrine:

The outlines [he says] of the present continents have been sketched in the earliest geological times, and have been gradually developed and perfected in the course of the history of the earth.—*Elements*, p. 169.

Professor Winchell has followed the theory of Lyell and the English geologists who have taught (see Lyell's “Principles,” chap. xii) that the ocean floors and the continental platforms have from time to time exchanged places. Recent investigations seem to prove decisively that Lyell is wrong, and Dana right. In an article contributed last year to the “Nineteenth Century” by Dr. William B. Carpenter on “The Deep Sea and its Contents,” he states that nothing struck the “Challenger” surveyors more than the extraordinary *flatness* (except near shore) of the ocean floor. They ascertained by their soundings (corresponding with those in the Pacific by the United States Ship “Tuscarora”) that “the form of the depressed area which lodges the water of the deep ocean is rather, indeed, to be likened to that of a flat waiter or tea-tray, surrounded by an elevated and steeply-sloping rim, than to that of the ‘basin’ with which it is commonly compared.” A

belt of shallow water runs along the coast-line of the continent, and then the sea-bed abruptly descends to a great depth. This interior trough (whose average depth is two and a half miles) has never been above the waves. Says Dr. Carpenter:

Now these facts remarkably confirm the doctrine long since propounded by the distinguished American geologist, Professor Dana, . . . that these elevated areas now forming the continental platforms, and the depressed areas that constitute the existing ocean floors, *were formed as such in the first instance*, and have remained unchanged.

These results were presented by Professor Geikie in his able lecture before the Geographical Society on "Geographical Evolution." He announces as a settled fact that "from the earliest geological times the great area of deposit has been, as it still is, *the marginal belt of sea-floor skirting the land.*" And again:

From all this evidence we may legitimately conclude that the present land of the globe, though composed in great measure of marine formations, has never lain under the deep sea, but that site must always have been near land. . . . The present continental ridges have probably always existed in some form; and as a corollary we may infer that *the present deep ocean basins likewise date from the remotest geological antiquity.*

What, then, becomes of Professor Winchell's Lost Lemuria? His conjecture (for, as we have stated, it is only this) falls to the ground; and rejecting, as he does, all trace of Tertiary man on the existing continents, and at the same time the antiquity of the European cave-men, he seems shut up to the old-fashioned opinion that man is about 6,000 (or, perhaps, 7,000) years old, and no more. We see no alternative, and Professor Winchell is thoroughly candid, and will not seek to escape from facts which he regards as established.

The absence of all traces of man in the tertiary strata, now so widely explored by geologists in most parts of the world, is a very pregnant fact in its bearing on modern anthropological theories. Recognizing its significance, Sir Charles Lyell was led to remark, that if man existed at this remote period, we must rather expect to find him in the countries of the anthropomorphous apes—the tropical regions of Africa, and the islands of Borneo and Sumatra, which, he says, "have not yet been explored." ("Antiquity of Man," p. 538.)

Within the past year or two, however, acting on this hint, and with the aid of funds obtained for the purpose in England, the ossiferous caves of Borneo have been explored, and still the missing links have not been found. In these caves, where it was hoped to find traces of early anthropoid forms, the only human remains met with were found in association with objects indicating a high civilization. "No light," says a writer in "Nature," "has been thrown on the origin of the human race."

It has also been well replied to this, (by Alfred Russel Wallace,) that in Miocene times the climate of the south of Europe was almost tropical, and even in Pliocene times England enjoyed a climate as warm as that of Italy at present. And the remains of apes have, accordingly, been found in Miocene strata in India, Greece, Germany, and France, and in the Pliocene beds of France, Italy, and England.

But it is not true that the apes are not adapted to a temperate climate. They range at present as far north as Gibraltar and Japan, and Dr. Hooker saw monkeys in the Himalayas at the height of 8,000 feet, while *Semnopithecus thibetensis* and *Macacus thibetensis* were found by Father David inhabiting the Snowy Mountains of Moupin, in Thibet, at the height of 3,000 metres. They are believed to exist in Northern China. Southward they approach the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, and are found in Brazil and Paraguay as far as 30 degrees.

The difficulty with Professor Winchell is the Negro, a difficulty which we appreciate. The Negro, like the unspeakable Turk in politics, offers to the ethnologist a perpetual puzzle. We know very well that he appears very early on the Egyptian monuments. The differentiation of the languages of mankind offers a similar difficulty in connection with the orthodox opinion as to man's age in the world. They are difficulties of long standing. But when the archæological evidence has broken down, shall we set aside the biblical chronology on the sole ground that we cannot explain the divergence of human types and human languages in so short a time?

It is impossible, within the brief limits of this article, to go over the ground already so often traversed. Nearly thirty years ago Nett and Gliddon urged this objection to the received chronology in their famous "Types of Mankind," pointing to the delineations on the Egyptian monuments.

The allusions in Genesis to Cain's fears lest "every one finding him should slay him," and to his "building a city," have also been urged in "The Genesis of the Earth and of Man," (1857,) and in M'Causland's "Adam and the Adamite," not to go back to the treatise of Peyrerius, published in 1655. Professor Winchell cites these authors at length, and makes no claim to originality in this part of his work. It has often been suggested that, in these references with regard to Cain, it is implied that other populations than the Adamic must have been in existence. But we must bear in mind that Cain (according to the Bible) probably lived near a thousand years, and that a very considerable population would have gathered on the earth from Adam in that time. The "city," we presume, was, moreover, a mere acropolis, or fort, like the original Troy or Mycenæ, or, yet more likely, a mere village containing a few huts. A similar remark will apply to the cities said to have been built by Nimrod: he *founded* them, and, living possibly some four hundred years, he saw them develop into considerable places for that age of the world.

More time is, perhaps, needed between Noah and Abraham than is allowed by the received Hebrew chronology, but not a great deal—five hundred or a thousand years is sufficient. This may be obtained by supposing (as is very probably the fact) gaps in the genealogy. There were ten names from Adam to Noah; ten from Noah to Abraham. So there were ten antediluvian kings from Alorus to Xisithrus in the Chaldean tradition. In the same manner the sacred books of the Iranians reckon nine heroes of a character entirely mythical, who succeeded Gayômaretan, the typical man. And again, we meet in the cosmogenic traditions of the Indians with the nine Brahmâ-dikas, making, with Brahmâ, their author, ten, who are called the ten Pitris, or "fathers." The Chinese, too, reckon ten emperors, partaking of the divine nature, between Foo-hi and the sovereign who inaugurated the historical period, Hoang-ti. The Arabs, also, had their ten mythical kings of 'Ad, the primordial people of their peninsula. There was among these primitive races some reason connected with their manner of constructing their genealogical tables, for their selecting the number *ten*, just as we see in St. Matthew the genealogy of our Lord arrayed in three divisions of fourteen generations

each, while St. Luke from Abraham to Christ reckons fifty-six. It is obvious that names have been dropped out by Matthew to preserve the number *fourteen*. It was a common practice with the Jews to distribute genealogies into divisions, each containing some typical number, and, in order to effect this, generations were either repeated or left out. In a Samaritan poem the generations from Adam to Moses are divided into two decades, six of the least important names being omitted.

It is evident, again, that the figures given in Genesis in this connection have been tampered with, for the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint texts all differ. We do not purpose, however, as we have said, to go into these points; our object at present is to consider the volumes before us from an archæological rather than a biblical stand-point, and these and similar points made by Professor Winchell, and presented with great learning and force, are familiar to theologians, and fall more naturally in their province.

We cannot omit altogether to notice the discussion given to the Negro in Professor Winchell's work, one half of which is devoted to developing the point that "the actual portraitures on the Egyptian monuments (as far back as 2000 B.C.) exhibit the Negro in all his characteristics, as broadly differentiated from the Noachite as he is to-day upon the banks of the Congo." "As early as the twelfth dynasty the Egyptians recognized four races—the red, the yellow, the black, and the white."

The attack upon the biblical chronology comes in our day from geology and prehistoric archæology. If these are disposed of, we do not think that many Christians, at least, would be willing to give up the received chronology and the received theology (whereby Adam is regarded as the federal head and representative of the human race in the Garden of Eden) on the mere ground that we cannot explain with entire clearness the early divergence of races and languages. There is no more difficulty, as already remarked by us, about the early differentiation of the yellow race than there is about the early differentiation of the Chinese language. The Egyptian language was differentiated from the very beginning of the monarchy. So of the Accadian language in Babylonia. How shall we explain these facts in consistency with a short chronology? Professor Winchell is not one of those scientists after the order of Haeckel or Huxley;

he is a reverent student evidently of the Bible, and a devout believer in its inspiration and its authority. How, then, will he explain the divergence of languages? We refer him to the eleventh chapter of Genesis.

And, now, why may it not be that the divergence of human types occurred in the same way? It were natural that the immediate descendants of Noah should have marked peculiarities of character stamped on them in the beginning as the *origines gentium*—from whom all the varieties of the human family were to proceed. We see such a fact distinctly pointed out in God's dealings with Abraham. Abraham had two descendants—Jacob and Ishmael. Now all the race-traits which we see to-day in the Jew were foreshadowed in the prophecies regarding them in the books of Moses, and may be even, to a considerable extent, recognized in the character of their great progenitor. So Ishmael was to be “a wild man, and his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him”—a fit type and source of his Bedouin descendants. Now we can see nothing more strange, if Cush in like manner should have been marked as the progenitor of a strongly differentiated race. We have a most decided intimation that such was the fact, in the curse associated with his family. Professor Winchell observes on this, that the curse was against *Canaan*, and that the descendants of Canaan did not even settle in Africa. The truth is, that it was Ham who committed the sin, and in the biblical narrative it is his son (Canaan) who is cursed. The explanation is this: When the Mosaic books were written the Israelites were marching against the Canaanites, to destroy them as an accursed race; they constituted the most prominent object before them; therefore Moses singles out Canaan, saying nothing about the other sons of Ham, with whom the Israelites had no concern, and (so far as the Cushites were concerned) had no contact. The writer shows what was in his mind, commencing his account (ver. 22) of the matter with “And Ham, *the father of Canaan*”—it was Canaan's connection with the matter that he had in view. It was the posterity (including Canaan) of Ham who were marked by some mental peculiarity, resulting, perhaps, in some physical distinction.

If these hints be well-grounded, we pass, then, out of the domain of science in considering such questions as the divers-

ity of languages and the diversity of races. Scientific men persist in bringing down every transaction in the Bible to the level of science; thus they cannot understand the creation of man, nor the Flood. But if there be a God, and if he communicates with men, and interposes in human affairs, may there not be, as represented in the Bible, supernatural occurrences? What has Science to say to the career of Jesus Christ on the earth eighteen hundred years ago? If Science cannot take cognizance of the Resurrection, then why must the Flood, the Creation of Man, the Confusion of Tongues, be all arraigned in the forum of Science?

But, after all, is it certain that it would take, necessarily, a very long time to produce a black race? The guinea-pig, which in its native country is of a gray color, during its limited sojourn in Europe has changed into a variety marked with brown, black, and white spots. Now, why should not one insist that this differentiation—equal as regards color to the differences between the human races—must have required long ages? The American wolf and the European wolf are the same; but on this continent, in the far north it is white; in temperate latitudes it is gray; in Florida and Georgia it is black; in Missouri it is clouded; in Texas it is red. It is a well-known fact that birds of the finch tribe, if fed on hemp, will soon turn black. "The color of the skin," says De Quatrefages, "depends upon a simple secretion which is subject to modification under a number of circumstances. . . . There is, therefore, nothing strange that some human groups, differing widely in other respects, should resemble each other in the matter of color. This is the reason why the Hindu, (Aryan,) and the Bisharee, and the Moor, (Semitic,) although belonging to the *white race*, assume the same, and even a darker, hue than the *true negro*."

Here is a peculiar case referred to by Professor Huxley. He says:

In the woods of Florida there are a great many pigs; and it is a curious thing that they are all black, every one of them. Professor Wyman was there some years ago, and on noticing no pigs but these black ones, he asked some of the people how it was that they had no white pigs. The reply was, that in the woods of Florida there was a root which they called the Paint Root; and that if the white pigs were to eat any of it, it had the effect

of making their hoofs crack, and they died; but if the black pigs eat any of it, it did not hurt them at all.

Now the malaria, it has been suggested, may have done for the primitive human settlers in Africa what the Paint Root has done for the white and black pigs in Florida.

The hair of animals, also, changes with equal facility under certain conditions. According to Darwin, in the West Indies, about three generations will produce a very marked change in the fleece of sheep. In Africa their fleece degenerates into a coarse hair. The mastiff and the goat from Thibet, when brought down from the Himalaya Mountains to Kashmir, lose their fine wool. At Angora, not only goats, but shepherd dogs, and even cats, have fine fleecy hair. Karakool sheep lose their black curled fleeces when removed into any other country.

Equal changes occur in form. The domestic cat did not appear in Northern Europe earlier than the Christian era; how, then, shall we account for the tailless cat of the Isle of Man? Swine with solid hoofs, like horses, were known to the ancients. Yet, according to the theory of evolution, it took the whole of the tertiary period to consolidate the four toes of the eohippus into the compact hoof of our present horse. The European hogs carried to the Island of Cubagua by the Spaniards in 1509 have degenerated into a monstrous race, with toes half a span in length. Dr. Bachman states that the cattle in Opelousas, Western Louisiana, in thirty years, without a change of stock, produced a variety of immense size, with a peculiar form and enormous horns, like the cattle of Abyssinia. De Quatrefages mentions the *niata* cattle of Buenos Ayres, which is descended (of course) from a European stock. It now bears the same relation to other oxen that the bull-dog does to other dogs. All the forms are shortened and thickened, the head especially being enlarged and concentrated.

The inferior maxillary bone . . . so far exceeds the superior in length that the animal is unable to browse on trees. The cranium is as much deformed as the face; not only are the forms of the bones modified, but also their relations, not one of which, according to Professor Owen, has been strictly preserved.

But, if we understand Professor Winchell, changes like these require time stretching back to the Middle Tertiary.

Now, in view of the facts cited, we ask the question: If some distinguishing physical peculiarity should, at a very early period, have been impressed upon some of the descendants of Ham, and, put under the ban and ruled out by the other tribes, they should have become isolated in some miasmatic, marshy district of Africa, is it incredible that they should have formed a new breed of men?

We merely add, that it may very well be that the differentiation of the races took place before the Flood. There may have been more colors than one in the ark.

The third work on our list is that of Professor Whitney on the Auriferous Gravels of the Sierra Nevada of California. The name of this eminent geologist has for many years been associated with the Calaveras skull, which was found in a shaft 130 feet deep, under five beds of lava and volcanic tufa, and four beds of auriferous gravel. The discovery was so astounding that it was not fully credited, although it is cited and accepted by Dr. Foster in his "Pre-historic Races of the United States," published in 1873. Bancroft, also, in his "Native Races of the Pacific States," cites a large number of cases in which stone mortars, weapons, etc., have been found in California, in Table Mountain, Tuolumne County, and elsewhere, at great depths.

This subject has, however, been now more authoritatively brought to the attention of scientific men by the publication of the present volumes from the types of the University Press at Cambridge, in which Professor Whitney discusses these discoveries at length, and formally reaches the conclusion that they establish the existence of man on the Pacific Coast of North America in the Tertiary age. He reports, among a number of others, the following cases in which human remains and works of art have been found in the auriferous gravels.

1. Stone mortars and platters, at the depth of 90 feet, in 1863, at Gold Springs, by Mr. Lot Cannell, a miner. These objects were found in the same stratum with bones and teeth of the mastodon.

2. Stone dishes and mortars, and stone weapons, on Woods' Creek, Tuolumne County, in 1862-65, with bones of elephant and mastodon, at a depth of 20 to 40 feet.

3. Fragment of a human skull in Museum of Natural His-

tory Society of Boston, taken from a shaft in Table Mountain, 180 feet from surface, in gold drift, near mastodon bones. It was overlaid by hard basaltic strata.

4. A stone mortar, found in gravel, at a depth of 200 feet, under Table Mountain, overlaid by 60 feet of basalt, and at a distance of 1,800 feet from mouth of tunnel. This mortar is two feet seven and a half inches in circumference.

5. The Calaveras skull, found in 1866, near Altaville, in Calaveras County, 130 feet from the surface. Near it, in the shaft, the miners found a small snail-shell, (*Helix mormonum*, now existing in the Sierra Nevada,) several pieces of charcoal, etc.

Professor Whitney says there is no doubt of the authenticity of this relic. The skull, he says, "presents no signs of having belonged to an inferior race. In its breadth it agrees with the other crania from California, except those of the Diggers, but surpasses them in the other particulars in which comparisons have been made."

6. Stone mortars and other stone relics, near San Andreas, Calaveras County, at the depth of 150 feet.

7. A stone hatchet, perforated for a handle, at from 60 to 75 feet from surface, in gravel, under basalt, and 300 feet from mouth of tunnel. "At about the same time and place were also found stone mortars and fossil bones." This was in Table Mountain, Tuolumne County, opposite O'Byrn's Ferry, on Stanislaus River.

Many other cases are cited, and in many instances the depth at which the mortars and other objects were found is not greater than from 10 to 20 feet, but always in the auriferous gravel.

From these facts Professor Whitney draws the following conclusions:

1. The clear and unequivocal proof, beyond any possibility of doubt or cavil, of the contemporaneous existence of man with the mastodon, fossil elephant, and other extinct species, at a very remote epoch as compared with any thing recorded in history.

2. That man, thus proved to be contemporaneous with a group of animals now extinct, did not essentially differ from what he now is in the same region and over the whole North American continent.

3. That there is a large body of evidence, the strength of which it is impossible to deny, which seems to prove that man existed in California previous to the cessation of volcanic activity in the Sierra Nevada, to the epoch of the greatest extension of

the glaciers in that region, and to the erosion of the present river cañons and valleys, at a time when the animal and vegetable creations differed entirely from what they now are, and when the topographical features of the State were extremely unlike those exhibited by the present surface.

4. That man existing even at that remote epoch, which goes back at least as far as the Pliocene, was still the same as we now find him to be in that region, and the same that he was in the intermediate period after the cessation of volcanic activity, and while the erosion of the present river cañons was going on.

5. That the discoveries in California, and those in other parts of the world, notably in Portugal and India, present a strong body of evidence going to prove the existence, during an immensely long period, of the human race in its primitive condition—that is to say, in the simplest and rudest condition in which man could exist and be man.

6. That, so far as we know, there is no evidence of the existence of any primordial stock from which man may have been derived as far back at least as the Pliocene. MAN, THUS, IS NOTHING BUT MAN, WHETHER FOUND IN PLIOCENE, POST-PLIOCENE, OR RECENT FORMATIONS.—P. 288. [The capitals are ours.]

It should be added to the above that the plants as well as the animals found in the lower gravels are of Miocene age, and the older gravels found under the basalt may be referred to the close of the Miocene, rather than to the Pliocene.

Referring to these discoveries in his address before the American Association, at Saratoga, in 1879, Professor Marsh fully indorsed them, and said: "At present, the known facts indicate that the American beds containing human remains and works of man are as old as the Pliocene of Europe. The existence of man in the Tertiary period seems now fairly established."

The gravity of the situation is increased by the circumstance that Professor Dana, one of the most cautious of geologists, has incorporated the California discoveries in the recent edition of his "Manual of Geology," with no words of criticism or dissent; and Professor Le Conte, though in a more guarded manner, has done the same thing in his "Elements of Geology."

What is the result? We not only have man in the early Pliocene or the Miocene, but we have man at this remote epoch "still the same as we now find him," "nothing but man;" man fabricating with the skill of a modern lapidary heavy granite dishes and mortars, using polished stone weapons

and perforated stone hammers. The mortars and pestles are some of them delineated in Bancroft's "Native Races of the Pacific States," vol. iv, pp. 697-709, and in "The Epoch of the Mammoth," pp. 395-397, by the present writer. They are specimens of superb workmanship in the hardest stone. Bancroft also mentions other objects, as perforated disks and "skillets with a spout and three legs." This Pliocene man of America is far in advance of the Palæolithic man of the European river-gravels; he must indeed have been superior to the lake-dwellers of the Second Stone Age. And now, if these conclusions are sound, what becomes of the doctrine of EVOLUTION? Man not only appeared on the earth earlier than any other mammalian form now living on the land, but he was as perfect at that time as he is to-day; he has not changed. Professor Dawkins, clinging to the theory of Evolution, tells us that this was impossible. How could the highest appear first? It is as if some zealous antiquary should introduce the vertebrate before the invertebrate life. If through the countless ages of the whole Pliocene and Quaternary eras man has not changed, how are we to accept the statement that the camel, the horse, and other mammalian forms, have been undergoing modifications and developing during all this time?

And then, again, does any well-balanced mind *believe* what these scientific gentlemen tell us to be true? Can any one who knows what is meant by geological time, give his consent to the fabrication of granite and diorite dishes and mortars, of large dimensions, in the early Pliocene epoch?

Perhaps there is some other explanation; though, even should this fail us, we cannot accept such monstrous conclusions, even if advanced by our most eminent scientific authorities. Let us scrutinize the facts: 1. The prevailing objects discovered in these California gravels are the *mortars and pestles*. 2. They are invariably, we believe, *found in gold-bearing gravels*. 3. They have been almost invariably found by the miners in their search for *gold*.

Nothing impressed the Spaniards more in the sixteenth century in Mexico than the abundance and lavish employment of the precious metals. The chroniclers of that period give extravagant accounts of palaces and temples resplendent with gold. Where did the civilized races of ancient Mexico pro-

cure their gold? The question is answered by Dr. Daniel Wilson, in his learned work on the archæology of America:

The metallurgic arts [he tells us] were carried in some respects further by the Mexicans than the Peruvians. Silver, lead, and tin were obtained from the mines of Tasco, and copper was wrought in the mountains of Zacotollan by means of galleries and shafts opened with persevering toil where the metallic veins were imbedded in the solid rock.

Mr. Bancroft, in the "Native Races of the Pacific States," gives similar testimony. Both gold and copper, we are told, were mined in Mexico from veins in the solid rock, extensive galleries being opened for the purpose. (Vol. ii, 274.) They carried their excavations, says this laborious author, to the depth of two hundred feet or more, to procure the chalchinite, so much prized as an ornament. Obsidian they obtained in the same way, the mines at the Cerro de las Navajas, near Monte Jacal, being described as opening three or four feet in diameter, and penetrating one hundred and ten to one hundred and forty feet horizontally, with side drifts as occasion might require.

We cannot doubt, therefore, that the ancient population of the Pacific coasts were seekers after gold, and that they possessed the ability to procure it even several hundred feet deep in the bowels of the earth. The ruder races of the East and North have left behind them traces of their mining operations in the mica mines of North Carolina and the copper mines of Lake Superior. We are not, however, left to conjecture on this subject. Here is a specific statement published years ago without reference to this controversy in Schoolcraft's "Archæology," vol. i, p. 105:

It was late in the month of August, in 1849, that the gold-diggers at one of the mountain diggings, called Murphy's, [this is in Table Mountain, where the Calaveras skull was found,] were surprised, in examining a high barren district of mountain, to find the abandoned site of an old mine.

"It is evidently," says a writer, "the work of ancient times." The shaft discovered is two hundred and ten feet deep. Its mouth is situated on a high mountain. It was several days before preparations could be completed to descend and explore it. The bones of a human skeleton were found at the bottom. There were also found an altar for worship and other evidences of ancient labor. No evidence has been discovered to denote the era

of this ancient work. There has been nothing to determine whether it is to be regarded as the remains of the explorations of the first Spanish adventurers, or of a still earlier period. The occurrence of the remains of an altar looks like the period of Indian worship.

Bearing on the same subject, the following item, cut from a western newspaper in November last, is a pertinent illustration :

An old mine, supposed to have been worked by the ancients, was discovered last week by a prospecting party in the Sangre de Cristo range of mountains, Colorado. In the mine are two large chambers from ten to twenty feet high, and double that number of feet in breadth. Stones, bones, skulls, and gold were found, the value of the latter being about nine hundred dollars. A further investigation will be made.

There are the facts, and whether Professors Whitney, Marsh, Dana, and Le Conte are excusable in publishing to the world that man lived in California in the Pliocene epoch, we leave to the readers of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*.

It is corroborative of the views above presented that Professor Whitney states in his Report, (p. 280,) that no finds similar in character to those occurring in the Sierra Nevada have ever been made in the Coast Range. No instance of the sort, he remarks, so far as he is informed, has ever been heard of. He states :

The soil and detritus of the region about the bay of San Francisco have been excavated for all sorts of purposes, and in a great many localities bones and teeth of extinct animals have been found in abundance. Never, so far as known, have any human bones or works of human hands been met with in connection with these remains, while they are common enough on the surface.

This is, indeed, very remarkable, if man was living in the neighboring region of the Sierra Nevada all through the Pliocene and Quaternary ages. The simple explanation is, that there was no *gold* in the Coast Range. No mining was carried on there by the primitive inhabitants of the Pacific Coast. "By far the larger portion of the Coast Range gravels may, without hesitation, be set down as nearly or quite destitute of gold."—P. 299. It is only in the gold country

that the mortars are found; it is only in the auriferous gravels that they are found; and they are found by miners seeking for gold.

NOTE.—Since this article was in type we have seen Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace's new book entitled, "Island Life; or, The Phenomena and Causes of Insular Faunas and Floras." In this work Mr. Wallace takes precisely the same position as Dana and Carpenter with regard to the permanency of the continents and ocean basins, and, referring in a special discussion to the supposed Lemurian continent, rejects it as contradicted by all the facts of geology.

"Our actual continents," he says, page 92, "have been in continuous existence under variously modified forms during the whole period of known geological history," and, in support of this opinion, he quotes from Darwin ("Origin of Species," sixth edition, p. 288) as follows: "If, then, we may infer any thing from these facts, we may infer that where our oceans now extend, oceans have extended from the remotest period of which we have any record."

As to "Lemuria," he says, p. 388, "The supposed 'Lemuria' must have existed, if at all, at so remote a period that the higher animals did not then inhabit either Africa or Southern Asia, and it must have been partially submerged before they reached those countries." But he assigns a number of reasons why the supposed continent could never have existed at all, and says that the hypothesis was only "provisional," and has been proved to be untenable. He thinks that certain shoals and coral reefs indicate that there were several large islands between Madagascar and India, but these reefs and shoals, he remarks, are all separated by a very deep sea—two thousand five hundred fathoms.

ART. II.—THE OLD BIBLES. THE HEBREW BIBLE DISTINGUISHED AMONG THEM.

"AND I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head." Gen. iii, 15.

"And in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." Gen. xii, 3.

"Let the nations be glad and sing for joy." Psa. lxxvii, 4.

"Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; . . . for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord. . . . For thy Maker is thine husband; the Lord of hosts is his name; and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel." Isa. liv, 1-5.

"There came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him." Matt. ii, 1, 2.

"God that made the world . . . will judge the world . . . by that man whom he hath ordained." Acts xvii, 24, 31.

"Of a truth I perceive that . . . in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." Acts x, 34, 35.

"Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, . . . and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image." Rom. i, 21-23.

"Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold." John x, 16.

"Many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven." Matt. viii, 11.

These are remarkable scriptures. They are the openings of the windows of heaven toward the Gentiles.

Isaiah, in the chapter preceding that from which we quote, expresses so clearly the Jewish anticipation of a Redeemer that there can be no mistaking it; and in this (liv) he addresses the Gentiles in such a way as implies a similar anticipation cherished among them, with a comforting assurance that it shall not be disappointed. It is calculated, we should think, to abate very materially the conceit of the Jews that they are the only people for whom God has any regard—for the "children of the desolate," it is said, "are more than the children of the married wife." The "married wife" was the Hebrew nation—taken into a specially intimate relation; the "desolate" was the Gentile world cast off by God. David is praying for the enlargement of God's kingdom. He casts his eye beyond the boundaries of Israel, taking in *all the nations*, and inviting them to praise God by his name JAH, or JEHOVAH. (Psa. lxviii.) The promise to Abraham included *all the families of the earth*. We find, as a matter of fact which is not usually given the prominence it deserves, that when the Redeemer of the world was born his star appeared and was recognized in the far east, at Persia, by devout souls who were looking for the "consolation of Israel" as definitely as was Simeon—and Simeon recognized the Child he held in his arms as "a light to lighten the Gentiles." Luke ii, 32. It dawned on Peter's mind, at length, that "in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." But the fact that there *were some such* was more startling. Paul, in his address to the Greeks, intro-

duces the "unknown God" as the "Lord of heaven and earth;" the Father of men—one of their own poets had said, "For we also are his offspring;" and the Judge of the world by "THAT MAN whom he hath ordained"—the basis of the allusion to THAT MAN being their anticipation of ONE.

With reference to the anticipation of the Jews and their recognition of a like anticipation among other peoples, these scriptures are clear. But this latter idea was not known to be in the Hebrew Scriptures until research from other directions established the fact that in all the great Gentile religious systems, in the Zend-Avesta, the Vedas, the Tripitaka, the oldest Chinese books, and in all the old mythologies, the Messianic idea was one of the fundamental ideas.

We do not deem it necessary in this place to fortify the statement that the anticipation of a Redeemer is found as a prominent feature in all religions. It is implied in sacrifice, which is universal. As George Smith says, ("Patriarchal Age," p. 156,) after a survey of the whole field, "In these mythologic traditions all the external circumstances of the subject of this promise stand out in bold relief; a son of a God is born of a woman, and is, therefore, mortal; he is engaged in some desperate warfare with a malignant spiritual power, which generally assumes the form of a serpent; the God-man suffers, sometimes dies; yet is finally victorious, and great good accrues to others (in the ethnic religions this good is limited) through his triumph." Let this suffice.

We have, then, first, the universal anticipation of a Redeemer; second, the recognition of this anticipation by the earliest as well as latest prophets of the Hebrews, and by Jesus and his apostles. There is common ground between these, on the one hand, and the Gentiles on the other; in fact, the burden of the Old Testament prophecy and New Testament preaching addressed to the Gentiles is the identification of the "Holy One of Israel" as "He that should come."

It is further established by comparison, and assumed here, that these religions and the Hebrew have the same historic basis. The stories of creation, the garden, the flood, and the dispersion are in substantial agreement, so close as to preclude any accounting for except on the ground of identical facts. This circumstance of agreement on these several points be-

tween these religions as found in the old ethnic Bibles is dwelt on by a certain class of writers with the purpose of shaking our faith in the Hebrew Bible. They put it with the others in a catalogue in which all are of equal value. They tell us that these traditions, and the God idea, and the Messianic idea, came into the Hebrew religion from these other older religions, and that, therefore, their claims to original inspiration (if, indeed, there be any such thing) are the stronger and clearer.

We hold, however, that to make this out they invert and falsify history, and overlook the most striking characteristic of the Hebrew Bible. By way of reply to their allegation we shall, in the first place, determine, as nearly as may be possible, the chronology of these religions, and the fundamental ideas of each. It may turn out as the result of our investigation that the religion of the Hebrews and these other religions are branches from an original stalk, or that this is the topping of the stalk from which the others are branches. If so, one part of the allegation, namely, that the Hebrew idea is derived from them, will have been answered. Then, if we can point out a distinguishing feature of the Hebrew Bible that will justify us in taking it out of the catalogue, we shall have answered the other part. To these points we direct our efforts.

When Abraham left Haran he traveled westward, separating himself from his own family and kindred. He was of the family of Shem. He went out with a monotheistic idea and the promise of a Redeemer in the line of *his* seed. While his descendants tarried in Canaan, afterward in Egypt, and still later in Babylon, they did not imbibe to any extent the religious ideas of their neighbors and masters, but remained peculiar, and were hated on account of their peculiarity. They neither absorbed nor were absorbed. During all the course of Jewish history they remained peculiar and separate. Occasionally, before the captivity, going after Baal or Moloch, their ancestral religion still distinguishes them, and they are brought back to it by one or another means. Jewish history, in fact, is the history of the maintenance and development of the religious ideas with which Abraham started—the unity of God, and the promise of a Redeemer in the line of his posterity. It tells how these people came in contact with others without being denationalized, and how their peculiar religious ideas came in con-

tact with others without being eclipsed or essentially modified in the contact.

But we must go backward beyond Abraham. We must go backward to the time when the whole earth was of one speech and one language. (Gen. xi, 1.) We must find that then, when they had a common religion, ONE God, and one hope of a Redeemer, were its fundamental ideas. We must trace these ideas that are common and fundamental to the religions of the world back to this time and place as their starting. Criticism has well established that the Book of Job is the oldest of the Semitic books. Let us examine it first. It contains these ideas clearly, the unity of God and the anticipation of a Redeemer. It contains some other things that fix its date. Job mentions four constellations as in their oppositions, (xxxviii, 31-33,) and President Gouget ("Origin of Laws," Edinburgh, 1761) makes a calculation by the processional cycle which fixes the date at 2136 B. C. Dr. Brinkley, of Dublin, repeats the calculation and brings it out six years later. Hales repeats Brinkley's calculation, and mentions another by Decoutant, which makes it forty-two years later still, or 2088 B. C. Job was of the family of Shem, of the offshoot of Joktan, and not in the Messianic line. See Gen. xxvi, 29, where Job-ab is Job with the title of dignity, *ab*. Kolreiff ("Chronologia Sacra," Hamburg, 1724, cited by Wolfius) identifies Job with Melchizedek, King of Salem; Shuckford ("Sacred and Profane History," vol. i, pp. 263, 264) makes Job contemporary with Serug, preceding Abraham in birth by perhaps one hundred and thirty years. He also identifies Job with Cheops, the builder of the great Pyramid in Egypt. Joktan resided in Arabia. Thence came the prince who "conquered Egypt without a battle" and built the Pyramid. It may be, and there are strong internal evidences in Job's book in support of the suggestion, that Job was that prince. In Egypt he may have endured his affliction, after which he lived one hundred and forty years, and thence emigrated to Canaan, where he founded Salem.

Dr. Owen ("Theologumen") assigns the book to a period immediately preceding Abraham. Ewald ("History of Israel," vol. i, p. 231) says, "It is clear that these people, who had very largely displaced the old Canaanites in Palestine, were of the Semitic race." Wilkins observes that Abraham, "on his arrival,

found the population consisting at least in large measure of tribes with which he would have close affinities of blood and language. . . . We find him conversing with Melchizedek, negotiating with the children of Heth, and making a treaty with Abimelech without any reference to an interpreter," ("Phœnicia and Israel," pp. 3-10.) "Probably the movement from the country about the Persian Gulf, of which the history of Abraham furnishes an instance, had been going on for some time before he quitted Ur, and an influx of emigrants from that quarter had made Shemitism already predominant in Syria and Palestine at the date of his arrival." (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i, p. 537.) The biblical account of Abraham's visit to Melchizedek, the king and priest of Salem, is familiar. (Gen. xiv, 18; Heb. vii, 1.) If these probabilities be worth any thing we can account for the preservation of this book of Job's experience in the family of Abraham, and its introduction into the Sacred Canon, as well as for the otherwise unaccountable digression of the historian in mentioning the family of Joktan in Genesis x.

Abraham had but just located himself in Canaan when Chedorlaomer, King of Elam, and his confederates, made their expedition of war. They were driven back by him with the loss of their captives and booty. (Gen. xiv.) "The monumental records of Babylonia bear marks of an interruption in the line of native kings about the date which from Scripture we should assign to Chedorlaomer, and point to Elymais (or Elam) as the country from whence the interruption came. We have mention of a king whose name is on good grounds identified with Chedorlaomer as paramount in Babylonia at this time, a king apparently of Elamitic origin, and he bears in the inscriptions the unusual and significant title of "Ravager of the West." Our fragments of Berosus give us no names at this period; but his dynasties exhibit a transition at about the date required, which is in accordance with the breaks indicated by the monuments. We thus obtain a double witness to the remarkable fact of an interruption of pure Babylonian supremacy at this time, and from the monuments we are able to pronounce that the supremacy was transferred to Elam, and that under a king, the Semitic form of whose name would be Chedorlaomer, a great expedition was organized, which proceeded to the distant,

and then almost unknown, west, and returned after "ravaging," but not conquering, those regions. (See George Rawlinson's "Evidences," pp. 73, 74, and notes.) Sir H. Rawlinson ("Monarchies," vol. i, p. 160) says:

A king whose court was held at Susa led, in the year B. C. 2286, (or a little earlier,) an expedition against the cities of Chaldea, succeeded in carrying all before him, ravaged the country, took the towns, plundered the temples, and bore off into his own country, as the most striking evidence of victory, the deities which the Babylonians especially revered. This king's name, which was Kudur-Nakhunta, is thought to be the exact equivalent of one which has a world-wide celebrity, to wit, ZOROASTER. Now, according to Polyhistor, (who here certainly repeats Berosus,) Zoroaster was the first of the eight Median kings who composed the second dynasty in Chaldea, and occupied the throne from about B. C. 2286 to 2052 . . . after which we hear no more of the Medes, the sovereignty, it would seem, being recovered by the natives. The coincidences of the conquest, the date, the foreign dynasty, and the name Zoroaster, tend to identify the Median dynasty of Berosus with a period of Susanian supremacy which the monuments show to have been established in Chaldea at a date not long subsequent to the reigns of Uruk and Ilgi, and to have lasted for a considerable period.

Without adducing any thing further, we have these points: 1. Zoroaster, from Elam, overran and subdued Chaldea; 2. Between one hundred and two hundred years afterward Abraham got out from Haran into the land which God had promised him; 3. Chedorlaomer, probably the last successor of Zoroaster, in attempting to extend his borders westward, encountered and was repulsed by Abraham; and, 4. After about two hundred and thirty-four years of usurpation the Elamitic supremacy in Chaldea was overcome by the natives, the usurpers driven eastward, and perhaps thence southeastward down the east coast of the Persian Gulf into Persia. Here we find the religion of Zoroaster. We should have guessed from the contempt with which he treated the gods of the Babylonians that he was a monotheist. We might infer the same from the removal of Terah, Abraham's father, who could not enjoy his household gods under the usurper. But we shall determine from a glance at the direct testimonies.

Zoroaster, in person, did not lead the migration into Persia. It appears upon laying together facts that are as well authenticated as any of this time can be, that this movement followed

soon upon the overthrow of Elamitic (Medo-Bactrian) supremacy in Chaldea. Then his religion was not introduced there by himself, but by his followers. Duncker gives at length (*"Geschichte des Alterthums,"* book ii) the reasons which prove Zoroaster and the Zend-Avesta to have originated in Bactria. Haug maintains that the language of the Zend-Avesta is Bactrian. Thalheimer (*"Ancient History,"* p. 61) says:

The Persians held the reformed religion taught by Zoroaster, a great lawgiver and prophet who appeared in the Medo-Bactrian kingdom long before the birth of Cyrus. (In his time) in every part of the East the belief in one God and the pure and simple worship which the human family had learned in its original home had become overlaid with false mythologies and superstitious rites. The teachings of Zoroaster divided the Aryan family into its two Asiatic branches, which have since remained distinct. The Hindus retained their sensuous nature-worship, of which Indra, Mithra, Vá-yu Agni, Armata, and Soma, were chief objects. . . . Zoroaster taught the supremacy of a living Creator, a person and not merely a power, whom he called Ormazd. . . . No image of any kind was seen in Persian temples, [after this reformation.]

Dr. Martin Haug, the most competent linguistic critic, suggests the fifteenth century B. C. as the date of the most primitive Iranic compositions, which form the chief if not the sole evidence of an Iranic cultivation; but by this we think he means that then the Vedic and Zoroastrian, and perhaps other, fragments were first collated, as were the fragments of Semitic tradition and literature by Moses, for the Vedic hymns are certainly older. They began to be written possibly three hundred years before the settlement of Zoroaster's followers in Persia.

This brings us very near the time we seek, and in these, probably the oldest compositions, we find strongest support of our position. In the Vedas the principal deity is INDRA, which name expresses the idea that God alone exists as the source of all being. It is of precisely the import of the name Jehovah gives himself in the burning bush—I AM THE I AM. Indra is called upon as the "God of the fathers." Colbrooke says, "The ancient Hindu religion recognizes but one God, not yet sufficiently discriminating the creature from the Creator." In one hymn of the Rig Veda it is said, "They call Him Indra, Metra, Varuna, Agni. . . . That which is ONE,

the wise call it many ways." In another, "In the beginning there arose the source of the golden light. He was the only born Lord of all that is. He established the earth and the sky." Dr. Gogerly, regarded as the best living Pali scholar, and other trustworthy critics, are agreed that the ground of the Brahminic religion is monotheistic. It is a protest against nature worship, a reformation, asserting the existence of a single source of being and a single object of worship. It is an attempt to return to the religion of the Vedic and Zoroastrian age, in the face of Buddhism, which was itself a revolt against pantheism. The former became mystic, the latter ritualistic. Neither of these is older than 600 B. C.

Referring now to Confucius, authorities fix the date of his living at 550-480 B.C. He was simply a moral and political reformer, who superadded to the traditions and literature of the fathers his own maxims. (See "Life of Confucius," by Legge.) With this mention we dismiss him, and go backward to find that the earliest religion of the Chinese has in it the same fundamental ideas as the others. Dr. Legge tells us that in the "Five King" and "Four Shoo," the oldest religious books, the name of God is "Te," or "Shang-te," and that it represents a personal, moral governor. But the best authorities do not date these books earlier than 2000 B.C. Hoang-te was the first emperor. His reign succeeded the period of the dispersion, and may be dated possibly 2600-2700 B.C. Foo-he and Shing-nong were probably patriarchs of the tribe which first migrated from Central Asia eastward—possibly 3000 B.C. Between this date and the other is the heroic age of the Chinese. It is a period of wandering, in which most likely the second, or third, or even fourth, generation was involved. (See "Patriarchal Age," p. 441, *et seq.*) They carried with them the learning and traditions of the ancestral home; and these are the basis of the religious system found in their oldest books. But they were settled in China perhaps five hundred years before Zoroaster lived, and seven hundred before Abraham. Getting nearer the time of "one speech and one language," we do not get farther away from the monotheistic idea.

Turning to Egypt, we find in the coffins of the mummies rolls of papyrus, fragments of the "Book of the Dead," prob-

ably of 1900 B.C. Translated, they read: "I am the Most Holy, the Creator of all that replenishes the earth, and of the earth itself, the habitation of mortals. I am the Prince of the infinite ages. I am the great and mighty God; the Most High, shining in the midst of the careering stars, and of the armies which praise me above thy head," etc. Rawlinson ("Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii, p. 244) says: "The Egyptians adopted a pantheism, according to which (while the belief in one supreme God was taught to the initiated) the attributes of the Deity were separated under various heads, as 'the Creator,' 'Divine Wisdom,' the 'Generative,' and other principles; and even created things, which were thought to partake of the *divine essence*, were permitted to receive divine worship." But this pantheism is not the oldest religion of the Egyptians. Professor Grimm, of Berlin, one of the best-accredited mythologists of our time, writes: "The monotheistic form appears most ancient, and that out of which antiquity formed polytheism. . . . All mythologies lead to this conclusion." M. Adolphe Pictet says: "To sum up: Primitive monotheism, of a character more or less vague, generally passing into a polytheism, still simple—such appears to have been the religion of the ancient Aryans."* This last remark holds equally good of the Turanians, under which name are included the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and of the tribe of Assur in the Semitic stock. Polytheism, wherever we find it, is an attempt to represent and explain the diversity of manifestation of the ONE SUPREME, as Aristotle says: "God, though he is one, has many names, because he is called according to the states in which he enters." Really it appears, as we glance over the field, that Abraham and his posterity are the real conservators of monotheism—the "topping of the original stalk," which has its roots in the place whence the families dispersed.

Now, Sir H. Rawlinson says, in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society," speaking of the different races of Western Asia: "It is a pleasing remark, that if we were to be guided by the mere intersection of linguistic paths, and, independently of all reference to the scriptural record, *we should be led to fix on the plains of Shinar as the focus from which the various*

* Both these authorities are cited from the Quarterly Review, January, 1876, page 43.

lines had radiated." And we say, that, standing on the western, southern, or eastern shore of Asia, under the shade of the Pyramids, or on Mount Zion, and running our eye along the lines of religious development, we should fix upon the same point as that of *their* intersection. From this point the families of the sons of Noah diverge, each carrying the traditions and memories of the old home, and embodying them in sacred books, where we find them—covered deep with the fancies of vain imaginations and the conceits of unclean lust, to be sure; but there they are, these same original ideas of God and a Redeemer to come, like gems in a mine, glittering in the light thrown down upon them by recent research.

What shall we say, then? "Shall we," asks a recent writer, "push aside all the other sacred books of the world: the Hindu and Persian Bibles, both older than our own; the Buddhist Bible, held sacred by more people than hold to the Christian (Jewish) Bible; the Chinese Bibles, ancient and venerable books; . . . shall we push all these aside, and say, There is no voice of God in them? For one I dare not do that!" We say, also, We dare not do that. Nevertheless, we do not hold these venerable books and the Jewish Bible on the same ground—we observe a difference. We find in them the same substratum of divine revelation and historic fact as in it. We find truth in them, and we

"Seize upon truth wherever found,
On Christian or on heathen ground.
* * * * *
The plant's divine where'er it grows."

We can account for the truth we find in them—as we have done—and we are supported by plain allusions in our Hebrew and Christian Bible to the existence of this truth among the Gentiles. Isaiah says, in chapter liv, last verse, "This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord." Paul and Barnabas, in their speech to the enthusiastic people of Lystra, said, "God . . . who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways . . . left not himself without witness." We recall, also, the striking remark of Jesus, "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold." He said that before the Gospel had been preached to the Gentiles, in fact, before there was any Gospel

to preach, for he had not yet accomplished his mission to Jerusalem. If we think we are giving a wide extension to our charity when we include other Christian denominations in the fold, we must extend it still more to include these "other sheep."

We have said that the basal ideas of the pre-Abramic religion were the unity of God and the anticipation of a Redeemer. In so far as these ideas are retained in the religions that have grown from that stalk they are true and divine religions. We do not know where to draw the line of distinction until polytheism creeps in, and the "host of heaven" begin to be worshiped. But in Abraham's time polytheism had already grown somewhat; Zoroaster had shown his contempt for the *deities* of the Babylonians by carrying them off. He himself was a monotheist.

Terah, Abraham's father, was an idolater, but appears to have fallen into idolatry after having been a monotheist. At any rate neither Abraham nor his cousin Lot, who was a member of Terah's household, were tinged with the heresy. In fact, their going West was a protest against the polytheistic tendency of the times and country. It was just the fidelity and tenacity with which Abraham held this cardinal idea—the unity of God—that fitted him for the call he received. The other idea—the anticipation of a Redeemer—was held by all in the midst of their polytheism, and has not since been lost. But Abraham received with his call a promise that it should be in *his seed* that all the nations of the earth should be blessed, that is, in the line of his posterity the Redeemer should come. This idea *he held alone*, and it became, with the others, a fundamental idea in *his* religious system. These three ideas, then, are to be found embodied in the sacred books of Abraham's posterity: 1. The unity of God; 2. The promise of a Redeemer; and, 3. The *fixedness* of the Redeemer in their line of descent. The first two may be found in other sacred books; *the third cannot.*

From the very nature of the case God must have selected some one family from which the promised Redeemer should come, and in which the world's common hope should be realized, or the world's common hope must have been disappointed. Why he selected Abraham is apparent. The correct-

ness of Abraham's ideas and his tested fidelity constituted his special fitness. It was a case of "electing love," based on reasons. God loved him and elected him *because he was true*, and because, *from the nature of the case, an election must be made*. It was not an election of exclusion on any other ground than *untruthfulness*. It was an election in the benefits of which *all* were to participate, and in which *all* were *equally* interested.

From this time forward this idea distinguishes Abraham and his posterity, and, as might be expected, they *lived* to it. It develops and determines them; they are what they are because of it. Their history, as we have it in the Old Testament, is the history of the molding and unfolding of an idea—not the idea of God the Creator, nor of the unity of God, nor of a Redeemer to come, for the Hebrew Scriptures are not solitary in either of these ideas—but the idea of a Redeemer *fixed* in their own line of descent. In this they are solitary. As distinct conceptions of God the Creator, (though not so abundant and unvaried,) of God the ONE, of a promised Redeemer, and as high moral precept, may be found in the Zend, the Tripitaka, the Five King, or the old mythologies, as in the Hebrew Bible. We concede this point, but we assert this difference: that *in none of them is the line of the Redeemer fixed as it is in the Hebrew tradition and Scripture*. The Chinese Scriptures, we are told, contain prophecies of a Chinese Messiah, and the Hindu Scriptures contain like prophecies of a Hindu Messiah. But these prophecies are not so specific as to give precise direction to the anticipation; they are not so specific as to bar the claims of one coming from any other than a given direction. The point of divergence of the Hebrew Scriptures from these others, is the point where the former begin to be specific—when Abraham received that promise. As we follow this promise on down we observe that it becomes more specific as it is frequently reiterated. It is fixed in Isaac, then in Jacob, then in Judah, then in David, in Bethlehem, and in Nazareth—in a point of time, and other conditions so precise, and the conjunction of which is so singular, that while they may have been miscalculated beforehand there can be no difficulty in determining them *after* the event. But so precise were these conditions in the promise that we actually find the wise and pious among the Jews, and those of the far East who had kept

abreast the unfolding of the idea in the Hebrew literature, all looking in one direction at the same time. In passing, we observe that the separations of Judah and of David and of Mary were not more exclusive of the other tribes and families and individuals of the descendants of Abraham than was the separation of Abraham exclusive of other nations—the coming Redeemer was *for the world*.

Now, with all the unsettling of the criticism of the times, one fact has been left untouched—that Jesus of Nazareth was in the line of this promise, of the house and lineage of David, born in Bethlehem of Judea, at a point of time when the prophetic dates of the Hebrew people were running out. The scepter was not to depart from Judah “till Shiloh (the Sent) come.”

There may be a discrepancy in the genealogical *table*, but not in the *line*, and the descent of Jesus in the *line* cannot be gotten over; and, make just what we please of it, it still remains unchallenged, that Jesus was born at Bethlehem. But it is foreign to our present purpose to follow out the conditions of the promise, and show how they are precisely met in the incidents of the birth of Jesus. All we mean to say is, that, think what we may of the pretensions of Jesus to divinity, or of his philosophy, if the Jewish anticipation of a Redeemer, the anticipation raised first by the promise in the garden, fixed in the line of Abraham’s posterity, and defined more precisely by the later prophets—if this anticipation be not met in Jesus of Nazareth, it is not met at all in Jewish history. Jewish history is sealed with all these definite promises in it, and to-day none stands before the world claiming to have met them, except Jesus of Nazareth.

Another fact must be looked in the face, namely, neither the Hindus, nor Chinese, nor any other religionists, save the Christians, have a New Testament,—we mean a book filling the place in their system that the New Testament fills in ours,—a literature that is the outgrowth of the idea that the promise of a Redeemer *has been met*, and that has for its basis the story, and for its central idea the unfolding of his life. Furthermore, they *cannot* have a New Testament. Why? Their Bibles are closed without any such precisely defined and limited promises concerning the Redeemer as are found in the Hebrew Bible.

The anticipation is so vague that it would be impossible for any character to meet it and establish his claim. Hence, no character among them pretends to meet it. Their idea does not grow into a Jesus of Nazareth, and they have no Jesus of Nazareth, and no niche fitted for the reception of such a character. In their traditions and literature their anticipation must have been more precisely defined, and it must have run until one arose to answer to it, in order to make a New Testament literature possible. The significance of these facts is that, if the world-wide anticipation of a Redeemer do not issue in the Hebrew line, it has no issue *elsewhere*, and if, in this line, it do not issue in Jesus of Nazareth, it has no issue *anywhere*. *There is no Redeemer unless in Israel, and none in Israel unless Jesus of Nazareth.*

What a shallow analysis of these several Bibles, that does not discover in the Hebrew Bible this idea developing and issuing that does not develop and issue in the others! If we take it out we have perhaps only what the Hindus and Chinese have. But this one, beginning where they did, with the undefined promise of a Redeemer, has become definite and developed into Christianity, while those have no development at all. This promise *fixed* is the central idea of the Hebrew literature; it is the idea around which all else of incident in the history of that people stands, as the scaffolding stands around the cathedral tower at Cologne. When it issues complete in a character the scaffolding is removed out of sight, and *all the world* directed to look to Jesus of Nazareth as the fulfillment of its hope. "Thy Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel."

We draw hence a practical suggestion with reference to missionary work. The Old Bibles we find are only incomplete; our New Testament is supplemental to them. *Our* Jesus is the Redeemer *they* anticipate. We shall not dethrone their conceptions, but enthrone Jesus of Nazareth. Assuming redemption anticipated, it is to be declared a *fact*. Their religion is not *all wrong*. It will be righted, as is the imperfect religion of the Hebrews, by the story of the Cross.

"Waft, waft, ye winds, the story,
And you, ye waters, roll,
Till, like a sea of glory,
It spreads from pole to pole."

We understand now, as we never did before, "the mystery which has been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made known to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles;" and we gather somewhat of the meaning and force of the promises to *bring back the nations*, and to gather together in one all things in Christ. We begin to have a more distinct idea of the extent of Christ's fold; and yet we shall doubtless be surprised when he brings those "other sheep" in, to see them coming up from every nation under the sun, "bringing their glory and honor into it." But they will come, more of them than of the children of Abraham, for "more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife." Cut off! Excluded by the election! No, no! "In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer."

Finally, let the truth stand out clearly, that God has kept his word, and, of the richness of his grace, provided for the redemption, not only of Israel, but of the whole world, through Jesus of Nazareth, his Christ!

ART. III. — SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Two volumes. London. 1878.

Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges. By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D. Two volumes. London. 1878.

History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. By LESLIE STEPHEN. Two volumes. London. 1877.

Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot. By JOHN MORLEY. London. 1872-78.

English Men of Letters, 1877-80: Hume, by PROFESSOR HUXLEY; Defoe, by ARTHUR MINTO; Johnson, by LESLIE STEPHEN.

Religious Thought in England. By REV. JOHN HUNT. Three volumes. London. 1871.

"THE withered, unbelieving, second-hand eighteenth century." So Mr. Carlyle calls it, and repeats the estimate with infinite variety of emphatic epithet through all his writings. Some such opinion has been, until lately, the common one. The last century, we have been told, was not an age of faith, of virtue,

or of heroism. Coleridge has taught us that its philosophy was shallow and materialistic. Wordsworth and De Quincey have pronounced its literature cold and artificial, and, with something of contempt, have denied to Pope and his school the name of poet. Men differing as widely in creed as Newman, Maurice, and Martineau have alike confessed that its religion was faithless and lifeless. And yet, deprecate the last century as we may, it is certain that no period seems to be of greater interest to all students of English thought. Even Mr. Carlyle, though he has never ceased to berate it, has never ceased to study it. Such recent works as those mentioned at the head of this article attest the present attractiveness of the century to eminent men of widely different schools of thought. Nor can any careful reader have failed to notice that, during the last fifteen years, the popular estimate of the character and value of eighteenth-century thought has greatly changed. The period of reaction which began with Wesley in religion, with Coleridge in philosophy, and with Cowper and Burns in poetry, seems to be nearly at an end. The spirit of the last century is again returning upon us; and we may notice in all quarters an increasing sympathy with its temper and its methods. It may be of interest, therefore, to inquire, What were some of the characteristic features of the century? It will be the purpose of this paper to point out two or three of them, so far as they may be discovered by a rapid glance at English philosophy and literature of the period.

It should be said, however, at the outset, that most of the tendencies in thought commonly ascribed to the eighteenth century were in operation somewhat before its opening, and culminated somewhat before its close. Great movements in human thought are not sudden, but gradual, and cannot be sharply divided into periods; least of all will the dividing-lines of the centuries fitly mark such periods. In reality, what is to be said of the eighteenth century applies with more exactness to a period extending from about 1690 to about 1790.

No reader of eighteenth-century literature can fail to discern, as a first characteristic of the thought of the age, a tendency to exalt the logical reason at the expense of the intuitions, the imagination, and the emotions. There was a universal passion for clearness and plausibility, a disposition to narrow the range

of knowledge in order to obtain within that limited field greater clearness of vision. The sphere of exercise for the faculties once thus sharply defined, the thought of the age decided, with convenient assurance, that outside those limits there is nothing to be known. In the familiar opening passage of his treatise, (which, by the way, although "*On the Human Understanding*," pretends to cover the whole of our knowledge,) Locke says: "I thought it well to know the range of our own powers, that we might be cautious in meddling with things beyond our apprehension, and sit down in quiet ignorance of those things beyond our capacities." The writers of the time of Anne and the early Georges are constantly gratulating themselves upon the good sense of their own day. "Sense and wit," are Pope's cardinal virtues. "I have great respect for Paul," said Anthony Collins; "he was a man of sense and a gentleman." This tyranny of the understanding is evident in every department of thought. In theology all parties were content to assume the supremacy of reason; no questions were discussed or even entertained save on the supposition that they were to be appreciated and adjudged by the unwarmed reason alone. All literature was measured, not by its insight, its emotional warmth, or imaginative elevation, but by its conformity to those rules which the unaided understanding is competent to impose. In practical life, likewise, it is curious to notice the same ambition for a reasoned moderation, for philosophical regulation of life, for conduct that could not be charged with "folly." There was, in short, a universal impatience of any thing like transcendentalism in philosophy, mysticism in theology, enthusiasm in practical religion. The two texts, it is said,* on which most sermons were preached in England, during the first two thirds of the eighteenth century, were, "Let your moderation be known unto all men," and "Be not righteous over much."

A second characteristic, and one naturally growing out of that just mentioned, is a certain superficiality and thinness in much of the thinking of the century. Discussion upon all subjects was popular, very much more popular than ever before. The philosophy of the age, such as it was, descended into the street. Every question that was thought of interest at all was

* Hunt's "*History of Religious Thought in England*," vol. iii, p. 291.

debated at the club, in the coffee-house, in the drawing-room. But the tone of discussion was such as befitted those places. There was, indeed, not merely a general mental activity, but on some matters a fruitful activity. Physical science saw some of its noblest triumphs during the century. History began to be studied and written in a more intelligent way. Something like a school of political economy was founded. In short, wherever the activity of the age could exert itself on concrete facts and phenomena, in the realm of science as opposed to philosophy, it was fruitful. But the profound and ever-recurring questions of philosophy which demand depth as well as clearness of vision, were either given over as useless and perplexing, or, more commonly, received easy and plausible but not satisfactory answers. This disposition to give shallow and—if I may borrow a word of that time more expressive than elegant—"cock-sure" solutions to the deepest problems, shows itself perhaps most frequently in ethical and theological discussion. Readers of Butler will remember the natural impatience with which he speaks of the "loose kind of deism common among men of pretended learning and wit." In Berkeley's "*Alciphron*," Lycicles, the young freethinker, is made to say:

Our philosophers are of a very different kind from those awkward students who think to come at knowledge by poring on dead languages and old authors, or by sequestering themselves from the cares of the world to meditate in solitude and retirement. . . . I will undertake a lad of fourteen, bred in the modern way, shall make a better figure, and be more considered in any drawing-room, or any assembly of polite people, than one at four and twenty who hath lain by a long time at school or college. He shall say better things in a better manner, and be more liked by good judges. Where doth he pick up this improvement? Where our grave ancestors would never have looked for it—in a drawing-room, a coffee-house, a chocolate-house, at the tavern or groom-porter's. In these and the like fashionable places of resort, it is the custom for polite people to speak freely on all subjects, religious, moral, or political; so that a young gentleman who frequents them is in the way of hearing many instructive lectures, seasoned with wit and railery, and uttered with spirit.*

A similar disposition shows itself in political discussion. The old high traditional notions as to the nature of government had been pretty much overturned by the revolutions of

* "*Alciphron*," Dialogue i.

the previous century. By the unprecedented changes culminating in the Revolution of 1688 the whole question of the nature of the monarchy and the relation of the different branches of the government to each other had been brought into popular and reasoned discussion. The divinity that doth hedge a king was unknown in England after 1688. An immense increase in the deference paid to private judgment had rendered political traditions, as well as all other traditions, of little weight, and had incited a freedom of speech that often passed into license. Never was political discussion so rife in England as in the first half of the last century; and never before or since was it so rancorous, so shallow, and so confident. England was filled with pamphlets; but it would be difficult to point to any one of them written between 1700 and 1750 that shows any real wisdom.

It is to be further noticed, that the thought of the age was, for the most part, practical rather than speculative. It was controlled by prudential considerations, and aimed at immediate material results. This disposition shows itself in many ways: in the constant intrusion of the didactic element into polite literature, in the growth of a utilitarian ethics, and, perhaps more strikingly than anywhere else, in the universal tendency to enforce sound belief on low prudential grounds. "It's safer to believe there is a God," argued the timid orthodoxy of that day, "because at all events there *may* be one; and if there is, he will damn you if you don't."* In all departments of thought, among men of all shades of belief, the century shows, as Mr. Pattison says, "human attainment leveled to the lowest secular model of prudence. Practical life as it was, was the theme of the pulpit, the press, the drawing-room."† Such a spirit in no wise loses its reward. Measured by its material prosperity only, the period was certainly a most fortunate one. Hallam says that the forty years following the peace of Utrecht (1714) were the happiest in English history. It is, indeed, just this practical tendency which a certain school of modern thinkers most admire. "Intellectually," says Mr. Morley, in his "Life of Diderot," "it was the substitution of things for

* See this motive elaborated, for instance, in some of South's sermons, notably in one entitled "The Practice of Religion Enforced by Reason."

† "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England," "Essays and Reviews," p. 328.

words." But it seems hardly possible for any one to read the history of the last century without discovering that such an interest in "things" leads to a subordination of all higher matters to lower, to selfishness, narrowness of vision, and meagerness of life.

As a fourth characteristic, we may notice that the thought of the century, so far as it was speculative at all, was critical and destructive rather than constructive. It seems to be an inevitable law of human progress that the advance of thought shall not be constant but intermittent. To a period of enthusiasm, of faith, of philosophic insight, is sure to succeed a longer period during which mental activity is chiefly directed to the criticism of accepted beliefs. The acquisitions of the one period are subjected to the sifting scrutiny of the next. An age of faith is followed by an age of skepticism. Now, the first three fourths of the last century afford, perhaps, the best example in modern times of a typical age of skepticism. Its work was to prove all things, in the narrowest logical sense of that phrase, and it held fast nothing, however good, that would not submit itself to this process. Such activity, though important, must always be partial and one-sided, and its results only corrective. The eighteenth century affords no exception to this rule. Whatever permanent results of the thought of the time remain will be found to be almost entirely in the form of negations or limitations.

The tendencies thus mentioned may be illustrated by a rapid survey of some of the most important forms of English thought. And, first, of philosophy. The main line of English philosophic thought during the century is easily traced. It begins with Locke, who is the father of modern English philosophy, as indeed of English politics, and—it is hardly too much to say—of English theology also. Two more names only make up the succession. Berkeley follows Locke, and Hume follows Berkeley, each adopting the premises of his predecessor, and urging them to further and very different conclusions. The "Essay on the Human Understanding," the "Principles of Human Knowledge," and "Dialogues of Hylas and Philonous," with the "Treatise on Human Nature," contain all that is most representative and influential in English philosophical writing for a hundred years. What it is especially to our pur-

pose to notice here, is the common tendency in all three writers to simplicity, to a purely rational method, and to a destructive criticism.

This is seen at the outset in Locke. He will get rid of fruitless discussion over words, and bring philosophy to the test of plain facts which every man may investigate for himself. His attempt was thought in his own time singularly successful. He is spoken of with general admiration throughout the century, as having given an account of our knowledge which is simple and intelligible. Locke's theory, as has been so often shown, if consistently carried out, makes a clean sweep of intuitive ideas. If all the elements of our knowledge be reducible at last to sensations, it is evident that there is no room left for time, space, cause, or self. Locke, however, is not entirely consistent. The knowledge of self he bases on an "intuitive belief;" the knowledge of God, on an irresistible inference, which inference seems itself to rest on the principle of causation.* For the principle of causation there is, of course, no place in Locke's system, though of this inconsistency he does not seem to have been aware. But once admit it, and a further question inevitably follows. Our knowledge is derived from sensations; but what causes the sensations? Do they attest a substance? Locke vacillates somewhat in his answer, but we learn, at last, that our sensations are caused by *body* or *matter*. Of this matter he affirms not only independent existence, but two kinds of qualities, primary and secondary.† Our conscious existence, then, is made up of a series of states reducible in the last analysis to sensations, and these sensations are themselves caused by an "external somewhat," unconscious, solid, extended.

Now it is just at this point that Berkeley joins issue. Locke's philosophy, in this phase, it was evident, led direct to materialism and atheism. It was eagerly accepted, not only in England, but with even greater avidity in France. Fostered by many contemporary tendencies, notably by the attention given to physical science, it was leading men to believe that the unconscious somewhat was the cause of all thought, and, hence, of all conscious mind in the universe. If it caused sensations,

* Book iv, chaps. ix, x.

† Essay, book ii, chaps. viii, xxi, xxii, xxiv; also book iv, chaps. ii, iii.

and sensations summed up knowledge, the conclusion was short and easy, and to a lazy or immoral philosophizing satisfactory enough. It was to such reasonings that Berkeley put his great question, What do you mean by the *existence* of this external unconscious somewhat? In what sense can you call it *real*? When you apply it to such terms as power, force, cause, what can these words mean? We know Berkeley's answer. Material substance; as commonly understood, he denied. When he searched his own consciousness for evidences of it, he found none; sensations he found, but no substratum.* He was, indeed, careful to reiterate that he believed in body as truly as any one else could, in the only intelligible sense in which the word "body" can be used; but body meant to him only an assemblage of sensations in consciousness. The idea of externality, which is always a part of our conception of body, he explains by the potential sensations; for example, the possible sensations of touch inevitably brought to mind by sight of a tree yonder, and by the permanence in the relations of our sensations, which, as it evidently does not depend upon *us*, gives an idea of otherness. These two elements, according to Berkeley, really constitute our idea of externality. So far Berkeley's philosophy is destructive, and so far it has been accepted by skeptical schools of thought since. But it has a constructive side as well. In fact, the whole purpose of Berkeley's work, as I have hinted, was to counteract the materialistic tendencies of his own times, and to furnish a philosophic basis for theism, though, as might be expected from the temper of his time, this part of his work received much less attention than the destructive part.

His theistic conclusion rests on two arguments. In the first place, it would seem that, as the essence of things consists in their being perceived—*esse is percipi*, as Berkeley puts it—when not perceived by any mind the things must cease to exist; that the chair I saw five minutes ago, but which is not now seen by me or by any other conscious mind, must have ceased to exist just as truly as the toothache I had a year ago. And so it must, Berkeley admits. And yet he insists we do know (though on what warrant he does not clearly show) that bodies

* Berkeley's "Principles," sections 3-33. See also Prof. Fraser's excellent notes and illustrations in his edition of "Berkeley," and in the "Selections" of the Clarendon Press Series.

have a real and continuous existence; hence, they must exist in the thought of a divine and omniscient Mind, having there that *percipi* which is their real *esse*. Thus, we come direct to a refutation of atheism.* And, secondly, we come to the same goal by another road. Berkeley admits direct knowledge of self. We know ourselves, too, as having power, but we see that a large part of our sensations are not caused by *our* power, while yet they must be caused by some power. We have no idea of power save mind; they must, therefore, be produced by a mind, and their infinite complexity and unvarying order demand a divine Mind.†

This argument evidently postulates the principle of causation, and the knowledge of self and cause. Drop these postulates out, deny or doubt them, and the coherency of the system is lost. Now this was the point at which Hume took up Berkeley's conclusions. He claimed that the assumption of a personal self and of a principle of cause are equally without warrant. The same considerations which had induced Berkeley's denial of a material substance he urged against its subjective antithesis, a mental substance, while he found in the principle of causation nothing but a customary association between impressions and ideas. The result was, of course, entire and thorough-going philosophical skepticism. It need not be said that this philosophy, modified somewhat by the Hartleian doctrine of the association of ideas, is consistently carried out in our own century by the teaching of the two Mills. This hasty retrospect of its most familiar forms is given only as illustrating those tendencies of thought above mentioned as characteristic of the century, the desire of simplicity and clearness, the disposition to exclude from discussions all insoluble problems, and the habit of destructive criticism. Very much the same might be said of the side schools of thought—of the common-sense philosophy, for instance. It is not until the time of Coleridge that we get a form of thought essentially in opposition to the temper of the century.

But still more significant of the practical temper of the age is the wide-spread indifference to the really able philosophy of

* See the "Principles of Human Knowledge," sections 45, 48; also the "*Hylas and Philonous*," and the *Siris, passim*.

† "Principles of Human Knowledge," sections 145-156.

the day. Berkeley and Hume seem to have had no wide following. Locke was, indeed, studied and quoted with approbation throughout the century, but principally because of his apparent simplicity and his opposition to abstruseness. The truth is, the whole period was singularly averse to profound speculation. Its typical men are not deep thinkers like Locke and Berkeley and Hume; but, on the one side such club-room philosophers as Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, masters of light, superficial discussion, and, on the other side, minds of tougher fiber, but of conservative temper, like Swift and Johnson, who refused to discuss the deeper questions of philosophy, or to scrutinize very closely the rational basis of the beliefs to which they held so obstinately. Swift argues against Collins by showing, in a masterly piece of irony, the inconveniences that would result if the Christian religion were abolished. Johnson, as is well known, bluntly said that any clown might refute all Berkeley by running his head against a post; of Hume he always spoke with undisguised contempt, and Hume's fruitless philosophical speculations he termed, with more force than elegance, an attempt "to milk the bull;" in the most masterly of all his essays, he brushes away, as with a contemptuous gesture, the flimsy conjectures of Soame Jenyns on the "Origin of Evil;" but he has no solution of his own for the problem, and is manifestly irritated by the foolish efforts after one.

The same tendencies may be seen, in their most pronounced form, in those theological discussions with which the thought of the century was so largely concerned. It is, indeed, common nowadays to speak of the deistic controversy of the early part of the century as a matter of little interest or importance. Long before the close of the century Burke could exclaim contemptuously, in the well-known passage in the "Reflections on the French Revolution," "Who, born within the last forty years, has read a word of Collins, or Toland, or Tindal, or Morgan, or the whole race of freethinkers? Who now reads Bolingbroke? Who ever read him through?" No one, very likely. And yet the deistic controversy, though the noise of it soon died away, was very significant in its time, and its results were really lasting. It illustrates throughout the characteristics of the age which have been mentioned. The English theology of the previous century—the seventeenth—had,

in all its greatest specimens, been growing more and more rational. The Reformation in England, though perhaps at first a civil and moral rather than an intellectual revolt, had been, in reality, there as every-where else, an appeal to reason as against authority. Discarding tradition, religious faith and practice must base themselves on the authority of reason and on the authority of the Bible. So argues Hooker at the outset. Increasingly through that century do we find growing among the ablest thinkers a principle of toleration based on a free exercise of the individual reason. This may be seen in Milton's "Areopagitica," in Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying," in Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants," and in Stillingfleet's "Irenicum."* But an appeal to reason and the Bible is virtually an appeal to reason, since the claims of Scripture itself are to be adjudged by reason. So says Chillingworth. "The Bible is to be accepted as authority in all questions save questions where its authority is concerned." This is the position of Locke, whose treatise on "The Reasonableness of Christianity" may almost be said to have been the text for all theological discussion for seventy-five years, on both the orthodox and the deist side. Grant the joint authority of reason and Scripture when they do not conflict, with the assumption that Scripture must submit to the arbitration of reason when they do; this was the stand-point of all religious controversy at the beginning of the century. *Do* they conflict? was a question then inevitable. And this necessitates the further question, What does reason sanction? What are those reasoned beliefs conformity to which must be the test of Scripture? Men differ hopelessly on many points; let us take what they agree on. We shall then have a reasonable, a natural religion.† In this your natural religion you must take, said the deists, only axioms common to all men. Whatever in revelation conforms to this can be admitted; whatever exceeds or transcends it must be supported by very strong external evidence; and whatever contradicts it cannot be received at all. The deists professed themselves Christians—whether sincerely or not has been questioned, though there seems no good reason to doubt it—and

* For an interesting treatment of the growth of this principle, see Principal Tulloch's "Rational Theology in the Seventeenth Century."

† Leslie Stephen's "History of English Thought," vol. i, p. 85.

their object was not widely different from Locke's. The titles of the two best known books, Toland's "Christianity not Mystical," and Tindal's "Christianity as Old as Creation," indicate the range and purpose of their work. They made Christianity substantially a republication of natural religion, and rejected whatever of revelation would not square with that account.

The deist controversy seems, at this distance, a very unequal one. All the speculative ability, all the social and literary prominence, were on the orthodox side. On that side were Locke, Clarke, and Warburton; Bentley, the most learned and acute of critics, Berkeley, the profoundest English thinker of the century, and Butler, whose "Analogy" may be said to have closed the controversy. Among professed men of letters the orthodox party could claim Addison, who had written in his youth a treatise on the Evidences—and it must be confessed, as Pepys would say, a "mighty weak one"—and who, later in life, systematically wrote down the deists in the "Spectator," and even in his comedies; * Dick Steele, who contributed to the controversy "Christian Hero;" Swift, who in one of the very finest of his satirical papers covered with ridicule the deist Collins; and other names only a little less eminent than these. On the deist side the writers were men now forgotten, and, it would seem, not deemed of very great ability or learning in their own day. Some of them confessed, even in their criticisms of Scripture, that they had no language but their mother tongue. Socially they were, with one or two exceptions, unknown men. Their little, shriveled books are now almost unattainable; and the general reader is forced to study them, if indeed he care to study them at all, in some such full abstract as that given by Mr. Hunt in his "History of Religious Thought." † From such antagonists it may seem that the defenders of orthodox theology should have had little to fear; and we are apt to be surprised that they were so apprehensive. A little study, however, suffices to show that the importance of the attack cannot be measured by the ability manifest in the printed works of those deists who came to the front, nor even by the ability of these men themselves. The danger lay in the universal diffusion of such views. They were in the air. They

* In "The Drummer," for instance.

† Vol. ii, chaps. ix, xi.

gained, perhaps, no very able defenders, but they were on every body's lips. Every body understood the deist questions; every body asked them. Accordingly, we find the ablest apologists concerned not so much to answer any particular book as to check, if possible, the tide of fashionable unbelief and indifference. It is the "loose deism now current in fashionable circles" that frightens Butler. "It has come to be taken for granted by many persons," he says, "that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it has at last been discovered to be false." And the objections of the deists, it should be said, were real ones, and, in such an age, all the more dangerous; because they were not begotten of any profound thought or critical scholarship, but were rather the suggestions of men of very mediocre ability, and were level to the apprehension of the meanest capacity. In a word, they were precisely in harmony with the practical, reasoning, destructive temper of the time. The increasing geographical and astronomical knowledge, for instance, which had begun to filter down among the middle classes, suggested a series of plausible questions, so often since repeated. Christendom is a fragment of the world, and the world a fragment of the universe. Is it, then, conceivable that God should place such supreme importance on the Christian revelation?* What of that 300,000,000 of Chinese—who turn up in all the deist writings from Toland to Tom Paine—who never could have heard of Christianity? Are they damned? And if they are not, can the Christian revelation be the one absolutely necessary thing in this world or the next? The first chapters of Genesis were beginning to provoke dissent even before the birth of modern geology. How shall we explain the discrepancies of the gospels, the fulfillment of prophecy, the vindictive psalms? It was precisely because these detached objections were so simple—so puerile the orthodoxy of to-day may perhaps call them—that they were readily caught up and diffused. They were at all the dinner-tables. It is odd to read, for instance, in the "Memoirs of the Countess of Huntingdon," that "My Lord Bolingbroke was seldom in her ladyship's company without *discussing* some topic beneficial to his eternal interests." Manners are, fortunately, now changed in this particular.

* See Leslie Stephen's "History of English Thought," vol. i, chap. ii.

Doubtless such objections as these can be readily answered, but they are not essentially frivolous. They are *real* objections, and—which is the consideration here to be specially noted—they are precisely of a nature to commend themselves readily to the homely common sense of the middle class. Some matters—transubstantiation, for instance—it may be held that this homely common sense is unable to comprehend; but the question of the literal fulfillment of prophecy in the Gospels, or the question whether there was one beggar or two at the gate of Jericho, common sense feels itself quite competent to ask. The great difficulty was, as Butler saw, to get common sense to look at a system as a whole, with arguments *pro* and *con*, and not content itself with desultory attack and reply. It must be remembered that the whole deistic controversy was not so much a speculative as a practical one. It was an effort on both sides professedly, and one side in reality, to preserve to society and morals the support of religion. Nor is it easy to overestimate the value of the results flowing from the controversy. To the deist attack it may be said that we owe the work of Butler, Paley, and Lardner. A whole series of plausible questions were answered once for all. And, what was of perhaps even more importance, the grounds and limits of a rational defense of Christianity were made clear. Apologists learned not to waste their efforts in the defense of what is unessential.

But all through the century it is assumed that the reason is arbiter. As some one has said, "It would seem that Christianity existed only to be proved." The credibility of revelation is the constant topic. The mode of defense changed somewhat, indeed, after the middle of the century. As the deistic controversy subsided the work of the apologist was directed not so much to the internal evidences as to the external. The reason of the change is obvious. After it had been proved satisfactorily that there is no inherent improbability in the Scripture narratives, it remained to prove that they were genuine and authentic, to "put the apostles on trial once a week for forgery," as Johnson has it. The *a posteriori* argument naturally followed the *a priori*. Paley occupies some such position in summing up this work as Butler does in the other. But the tone and the methods of the discussion remain the

same throughout, so that the revolt against the evangelical pretensions at the close of the century was inevitable and very characteristic. Believers and unbelievers cried out together, "Enthusiasm!" And consistently. For both parties had been drawing Christianity before the bar of reason, and agreed that all its pretensions should be settled by argument; but here were men who professed to have a belief, or knowledge, or whatever you choose to call it, that was independent of reasoning or argument of any kind. They had *experienced* the Christian religion. Such pretensions were equally fatal to both parties. "They were," said Bishop Butler to Wesley, "a horrid thing, sir, a very horrid thing!"*

It may be remarked in passing that there was a wide difference between the skepticism of the last century and that of our own, and a difference which itself indicates the wider range and deeper insight of modern doubt as well as of modern belief. The deists of the last century refused to receive revelation because they found it contradictory of nature. This antagonism between nature and revelation, they said, necessitated the conclusion that revelation is false. When they attempted to explain the origin of revelation they usually had recourse to the ready hypothesis of imposture. The work of the apologist, therefore, was to reconcile nature and revelation, to find a meeting-place between them, and to show that the objections good against the latter were equally good against the former. But the skepticism of to-day, so far from finding any contradiction between nature and revelation, finds that revelation is only an outgrowth of nature, an item in the intellectual and emotional development of the race. The result is, of course, to dissipate all its *supernatural* pretensions. So that the apologist of to-day has to reverse the work of the apologist of the last century. He has to show that there is a point of divergence between the natural and the revealed. The apologist of the last century labored to show that they are consistent and harmonious; the apologist of to-day must show that they are distinct, and that the one cannot be a mere

* His precise language was: "Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a *very* horrid thing!" Wesley's "Works," xxii, 270. See also Hunt's "History of Religious Thought," iii, 289. It should be said that the good Bishop's opinion of Wesley was somewhat modified in after years.

development of the other. The last century apologist argued against deists, but deists there are now few or none. Butler's "Analogy" was the book for that day; the book for our day has not yet been written, and when it is its course of argument will be the opposite of Butler's. This difference has, of course, often been stated of late; it is neatly pointed out in a recent number of the "Contemporary Review." *

The characteristics of English thought during the century find clear exemplification also in the *ethical* discussions. In looking at that most interesting of questions, the bearing of the philosophic and religious thought of the ages upon its practical life, one is struck first by the rather singular fact that all the skeptical and deistic thought of the early part of the century took a clearly optimistic direction. It assumed as a part of its natural religion, a moral sense and a moral Governor of the universe. That done, all the rest was easy enough. This complacent philosophy is seen in its most familiar form in Pope's "Essay on Man," the philosophy of which—so far as such a fragmentary and inconsistent thing can be said to have any philosophy—must be said, in spite of Warburton's bullying defense, to be deistic. It was inspired by Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, especially by the latter. And here, too, the skeptical thought of the last century was sharply in contrast with that of our own time. The skepticism of the previous age did not, indeed, realize to the full the meaning of the profoundest questions of life, and it gave them no satisfactory solution, but it did not despair of any. The skeptics had a firm faith in the efficacy of reason, and most of them persuaded themselves into an optimism which, if not logically defensible from their position, had at least some cheer in it. The thoroughly practical character of their thinking made it almost necessary that they should do so. It seemed necessary to find some support for the struggle of life. But the prevailing form of nineteenth-century skepticism is of the Positivist type. It has quite given up all attempts to solve any questions of Why and Whence and Whither. These it dismisses to the realm of the unknowable, where, unfortunately, are nearly all those things we most want to know. Discarding faith altogether, it leaves to reason

* "The Originality of the Character of Christ," by George Matheson, "Contemporary Review," for November, 1878.

only the field of positive scientific fact. The result, of course, is pessimism. It is seen clearly enough in any of the writings of our most popular scientists—Huxley, or Tyndall, or Leslie Stephen, or Kingdon Clifford. But here, too, it is easy to see that modern skepticism is the more logical and consistent. In truth, it is evident that the optimism of Pope and Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke is a very shallow thing. It was seen to be such by the ablest thinkers, even of that age. "Gentlemen," said Voltaire to a circle of friends in England after Pope's "Essay on Man" had appeared, "I beg of you to explain to me how it is that 'all is for the best,' for I cannot understand it." Two striking works of fiction near the close of the century, though written by men who cordially hated each other, are really both protests against the easy-going optimism of the early part of the century. We mean Voltaire's "Candide" and Johnson's "Rasselas." Pangloss and Candide, who travel around the world, get shipwrecked at Lisbon just before the earthquake, one of them hung by the Inquisition and the other driven an outcast over the earth, and Rasselas, who leaves his Happy Valley to find happiness, but cannot find it nor discover any one who has, are alike protests against the ready assurance that finds every thing for the best in such a world as this.

The fundamental mistake of the deists at this point lay in their assumption that if there be a Supreme Being he *must* be good. For this assumption it seems more than doubtful whether natural religion can ever find any sufficient warrant. Our philosophy, if it be consistent, *must*, indeed, drive us to a belief in a God. We need a First Cause, and we can form no conception of its nature save by adopting the idea of a personal Will; but of the moral nature of the Cause it is doubtful whether reasoning upon the phenomena of life can teach us any thing. Those phenomena, alas! afford fully as much warrant for supposing that the Cause at the spring of things is indifferent or malevolent. Hence the very curious and ineffectual reasoning upon such things in the "Essay on Man." Natural religion *ought* to be pessimistic, and, when it has the courage to be really independent of revelation, it is. The deists claimed that, in this "best possible of all worlds," whatever is, is right, and urged that all ought, therefore, to be happy; but they were confronted with the spectacle of universal dis-

order, unrest, calamity. The facts of life were too much for their philosophy, and all Mr. Pope's fine verses never could make Mr. Pope a happy man.

The main drift of ethical speculation throughout the century was clearly toward utilitarianism. Ethical doctrines were not sharply defined until about the end of the period, so that the writers are not always perfectly consistent with themselves, but the general tendency is plain enough. In a century that drew its philosophy mainly from the head-waters of Locke, it could not be otherwise. Locke, indeed, does not put any thing in the place of these moral intuitions which he sets aside, and seems inclined to make morality dependent upon the arbitrary command of a Ruler. He had, however, done the destructive work. It soon became evident that no ethics but the ethics of pure utility can consist with his philosophy. For there are but three answers, one of which, in some form or other, must be given to the question, *Why should I do right?* You may reply, *Because it is for my interests to do so, either for my own individual interests directly, or for those of the race, in which mine are involved; and this is utilitarianism.* Or you may say that to do right is the bidding of an impulse, conscience, moral sense, or whatever you choose to call it, an impulse which defies analysis, but which carries in itself its own authority—and there an end; and this is intuitionism. Or you may say that the impulse of duty is to be obeyed because it is the voice of God. The moralists of the last century almost universally gave to the question the first or the third of these answers. But, it is to be noticed, the third answer really resolves itself into the other two, for it at once suggests the further query, *Why the voice of God is to be obeyed; and the final answer to this question must be either an intuitional or a prudential one.* With the writers of the last century it was almost uniformly a prudential one. This may be seen, for instance, in the constant tone of pulpit discussion, in the numerous sermons in which it was argued that the *moral* unbeliever is a fool, since he sacrifices his happiness both in this world and in the next—in this world because he is moral, and in the next because he is an unbeliever.*

Near the close of the century these two phases of utili-

* This is the drift of one of Bishop Atterbury's best-known sermons.

tarianism toward which the thought of the age had been so clearly tending found embodiment in the famous work of Bentham, on the one hand, for the purely secular utilitarianism, and of Paley on the other, for the theological utilitarianism. It is plain that this utilitarian tendency, this laudation of a "rational self-love," as the phrase went, is eminently illustrative of that clearness and practicality on which we have insisted as characteristic of the temper of the age. Whatever be the nature of virtue and vice, men said, one thing is certain: men wish to be happy here, and hereafter, too, if there is any hereafter; a certain line of conduct tends to make you happy here, and probably will have the same results anywhere else. That seemed clear and practical.

It is a little curious to find that while many of the orthodox writers held to a substantially utilitarian theory of ethics, many of the deists held in a loose way to an intuitional theory. In the early part of the century the most emphatic statements of an original unreasoned moral impulse came from that side. Exalting reason, discarding revelation, the deists needed a basis for their doctrines in something, and they found such a basis in the moral intuitions. The very phrase, "moral sense," originated with Shaftesbury. This rather ill-considered form of intuitional ethics, with the flimsy optimism built upon it, is best seen in Shaftesbury's "Characteristics," or in Pope's "Essay on Man," which is only a rambling comment on Shaftesbury. The moral sense of Shaftesbury is a kind of sentiment which naturally inclines us to right as the æsthetic sense inclines to beauty. A sound theism, he claims, can follow only from a sound morality; since to believe in God is well or ill according as the God believed in is a good or a bad one. Morality is thus always prior to religion, and the basis of all religion. The theologians, indeed, often debase morality by making it dependent on reward, since the moment an action is performed from motives of interest it is virtuous no longer. As to the questions arising out of the conflict between virtue and interest, Shaftesbury meets them by roundly declaring that there is no such conflict. At this point he approaches utilitarianism. "If any one should ask me," he says, "*why* I should avoid a nasty act when no one saw me, I should think him a nasty man for asking the question; but if he insisted, *why*, I should say,

'Because I have a nose.' 'But if you can't smell?' 'Why, I would see myself nasty.' 'But if it is in the dark?' 'Why, then I should *know* it; my sense of the matter would still be the same.' *

Similarly, he argues, we have a moral sense which revolts against a wrong action, whether the action have any consequences or not, and whether it is known to any one else or not. Of course, on this theory virtue ought to be very easy; the stubborn fact is, it is not. The theory is pleasing, but we must shut our eyes to believe it. Shaftesbury, like Bolingbroke fits a graceful, optimistic, natural religion upon his ethics by assuming that, of possible systems,

"Wisdom infinite must form the best,"

and deifying universal law, to which he seems to find no difficulty in sacrificing the individual.

When it is said that the orthodox theologians of the century taught a utilitarian ethics, an exception to the statement must be made in the case of Bishop Butler. Butler's three "Sermons upon Human Nature" are perhaps the most important contribution of the century to ethical discussion. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the intuitionist theory has ever received a more clear and forcible statement. Butler takes up the "moral sense" of Shaftesbury; but it now becomes, not a sentiment nor an impulse, but an authority. In his well-known words, "Had it power, as it has authority, it would govern the world." Shaftesbury had given it a supremacy *de facto*, and had thereby brought his doctrine sharply into conflict with the facts of experience. Butler gives it a supremacy *de jure*, which is a very different thing. As a result, Butler shows nothing of the flippant optimism of Shaftesbury; he has rather profound seriousness and melancholy.

The polite literature of the century, as a mere glance may show, exemplifies, both in its matter and its manner, that supremacy of the reason and that practical temper so characteristic of the age. At the beginning of the reign of Anne, for the first time, English writers had a really large and varied audience. There had grown up a trading middle-class of fair intelligence, whose influence in society and in politics was every

* "Wit and Humor," part iii, section 4; quoted by Stephen.

day increasing. It was evident that the government was to pass under their control. Both political parties were bidding for their support, and both parties had found that this support could be gained more surely by the press than by any other means. Men of letters gained a political influence such as they had never exerted before and have never exerted since. Then, too, the enormous growth of London had drawn together an immense number of this class of people within easy reach of the writer. In the days of Swift and Pope one tenth of the whole population of England and Wales lived within three miles of St. Paul's. And the population was more nearly homogeneous then than now; social extremes were at a less distance from each other. It is probable that the average intelligence of London was higher, and the proportion of readers to the whole population greater, during the first half of the last century, than it has ever been since. When a large portion of the reading public, and that the most intelligent portion, is thus gathered immediately around the center of government and of society, we have the most favorable condition for the growth of a literature which shall deal in brief, rapid, and effective fashion with the passing events of the day. The pamphlet of Defoe or of Swift, or the "Spectator" of Mr. Addison, would be well nigh a week old before it could reach Chester or York; but it could be laid damp from the press on a hundred coffee-house tables in London, and be read before night by a hundred thousand people. This great public was not a learned public. It knew not much of any thing; but it knew a little of every thing. It was shrewd, busy, curious. It had no imagination whatever, but it had a deal of hard common sense. To discuss all matters in a brief, lively manner, and on a level not above the understanding of such a public—this was the demand made of the man of letters. Under such a demand good prose was produced. For the first time we have a racy, idiomatic, flexible prose style, not varying too much from the easy grace of conversation. It was a new development of the powers of the language; it was an immense gain. In prose, indeed, so far as manner goes, the writing of such men as Addison and Swift leaves little to be desired.

With poetry the case was very different. Without imagination, and without any real depth of feeling, the poetry of the

age has left to it only the field of argument and reason. Hence, in the first place, its matter is hardly the matter of poetry at all, but only a metrical version of current political or philosophical discussion. In its manner, too, the tyranny of the understanding is evident. Milton or Spenser might clothe a philosophical conception in glowing imagery; but the cool intellectual criticism of this age made all such imagery seem incongruous. There was really no imagination to inform or inspire it. To the unwarmed understanding any pure work of the imagination presents, of course, incongruities enough. The "Faerie Queen," for instance, was a standing offense to the criticism of the eighteenth century. Addison says of it complacently:

"But now the mystic tale that pleased of yore
Can charm *our understanding* age no more."

The same temper which excluded so carefully every thing like mysticism from philosophy, or enthusiasm from religion, excluded also from poetry all irregularity of form and intemperance of sentiment. Neither the poet's eye nor the believer's must roll in any fine frenzy.

There are, however, certain literary virtues which the understanding alone can appreciate. They may be called the geometrical excellences of style—symmetry of parts, order, arrangement, clearness, careful excision of all irrelevant matter. By virtue of such qualities as these one man, and only one, attained lasting and deserved reputation as a poet. Alexander Pope had no imagination, he had neither depth nor delicacy of feeling, he had not even originality or breadth of view; but he had, in lieu of these, a pretty fancy, a severe taste, an unerring sense of literary proportion, marvelous felicity of expression, a quick eye for the weak points of an adversary, a wit as cold and keen as steel, and a clearness in the perception of detached truths hardly ever equaled—of detached truths, we say, for Pope had absolutely no logic at all. For the life of him he never could put two premises together. He secreted thought as an oyster secretes pearls. Indeed, it is evident that any considerable logical power would have been fatal to his literary skill. For it is only when truths are drawn from their connections and set up in isolation that they can be stated with the epigrammatic vigor we so much admire in Pope's couplets. The couplet

itself, as Professor Lowell has somewhere said, is a kind of thought-coop. Pope has given us more proverbs than any other English poet; but proverbs are always half-truths. It must be admitted, however, that all which it was possible to do with his themes, and in the limitations of genius under which he worked, Pope has done. One may, if he choose, deny to his verses the name of poetry, as Coleridge was fain to do; but one cannot deny that they have a perennial interest. They are the highest proof our literature affords of the supreme value of the pure art of expression. But Pope stands alone. When men of equal emotional coldness, but not of equal intellectual keenness, attempted to poetize, the result was inexpressibly dreary. Most of the poetry of his contemporaries is simply inflated prose, galvanized into a kind of life by the free use of capital letters. Their muse was *Prosopopœia*. Pope was right in putting them into the "Dunciad."

The criticism of the age is of a piece with its poetry. It is evident that the excellences of such poetry as Pope's are matters that can be reduced to rule and neatly expressed in maxims. Accordingly, we find the critics of the time judging their own poetry by such rules, and laboriously trying to do the same thing with that of a previous age. Addison, who had succeeded in writing a "correct" drama which nobody can read, criticises the "Paradise Lost" with infinity of platitude about plot, machinery, and such jargon, as if a poem were a piece of mechanism. Of one of the wisest and most tender of Shakespeare's plays, Samuel Johnson can only say: "The play (*Cymbeline*) has many just sentiments, some natural dialogues, and some pleasing scenes; but they are obtained at the expense of much incongruity. To remark the folly of the fiction, the absurdity of the conduct, the confusion of the names and manners of different times, and the impossibility of the events in any system of life, were to waste criticism upon unresisting imbecility, upon faults too evident for detection, and too gross for aggravation." Such criticism as this, it is clear, can never disclose the truth or power of poetry. As well try to measure the warmth and brightness of broad sunlight with a two-foot rule.

It may be remarked that the tendencies to the reaction which, at the close of the century, worked such a revolution in

all departments of thought, made their appearance in literature earlier than anywhere else. Two marks of this reaction may be mentioned in closing this paper. Alongside of the hard, practical sense of Pope, Swift, and Addison, this sound but narrow judgment expressing itself in vigorous English without emotion and without imagination, we may discern, quite early in the century, a tendency to sentimentalism, an affectation of sentiment and emotion to take the place of the real; and this in all kinds of literature and in various ways. It may be seen, for instance, in Young's poetry, where, without a ripple of real emotion, there is a constant tumid swell and roll of mere declamation, bigness instead of greatness, pompous reflections that are utterly dreary. The "Night Thoughts" is at once the hollowest and the most resonant of poems. The same manner may be seen a little later in the frigid academic raptures of Dr. Blair's sermons. The most popular religious book of the century—one of the most popular religious books ever written—was Hervey's "Meditations Among the Tombs." * Any young readers of this generation who have chanced to look into it have probably been surprised to find it one of the most florid of books, full of sophomoric declamation of the very worst sort, and written in a tone of unctuous pathos very unedifying. In fiction a similar manner may be seen. Fielding fairly represents the sturdy common sense of the age, but Richardson is morbidly sentimental, and Sterne is sentimentalism incarnate. The same tendency in fiction, as the century drew toward its close, produced, on the one hand, the now forgotten "Rosa Matilda" school of novels, and, on the other, joined to a rather *dilettante* antiquarianism, the bugaboo stories of Horace Walpole and Mistress Anne Radcliffe. With the more healthy taste of our century the one was replaced by such novels as those of Miss Austin, and the other by the Scott romances.

The other mark of reaction referred to above is a growing dislike for the stifling air and the cramping conventionalities of city life. In the first quarter of the century one may already

* Lecky's "England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii, p. 600. No less than seventeen editions were published in seventeen years. See also Tyerman's "Oxford Methodists." Coleridge says the book was vastly popular in Germany also. Young's "Night Thoughts" and Richardson's "Clarissa Harlowe" were significantly its rivals for popular favor there.

hear some first words of that new gospel of nature so soon to be preached by Rousseau. It is odd to find in the most artificial poetry of the time a fanciful admiration for that ideal age of nature and of freedom "when wild in woods the noble savage ran," as Pope has it. Even in philosophy the same sentiment often shows itself. Those who have read Dugald Stewart's "Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers" will remember his *naïve* allusions to the savage state. "The social affections," he thinks, are now not so warm "as when the species were wandering wild in their native forests." Pope, who succeeded in writing the very worst nature-poetry in the world, was only prevented by some merciful special providence from attempting "Indian Pastorals." The growth of this sentiment is attested by the popularity of Thomson's "Seasons," and by the really wide-spread interest excited by the wretched fustian of the Pseudo-Ossian. At the close of the century it finds full expression in the poetry of Cowper, of Burns, and of that greatest of all poets of nature—greatest English poet since Milton—William Wordsworth.

ART. IV.—THE RELATIONS OF THE CHURCHES AND
MR. GARRISON TO THE AMERICAN ANTISLAVERY
MOVEMENT.

[ARTICLE FIRST.]

SEVERAL misapprehensions in regard to the great American antislavery movement, floating more or less indefinitely in the public mind, deserve correction. By many it is supposed to have been almost entirely a humanitarian evolution, deriving its inception, organization, leadership, and best support from humanitarian sources; and that its progress and final triumph were gained, not only without the aid of the Churches, but in spite of their opposition. In this false light Mr. William Lloyd Garrison's name is made to eclipse all others, as the founder of the antislavery movement, "the central and supreme figure in its group of giants,"* President Lincoln being "but the pen in Mr. Garrison's hand to write the Proclamation of Emancipa-

* Rev. William J. Potter, of New Bedford, in Parker Memorial Hall, Boston.

tion," while Garrison is "a lofty monolith," towering above Washington and Lincoln, "engraved with titles of the oldest, the highest, and the eternal."* Nothing is more absurd than such eulogies. They are unsustained by any definite bases of facts.

Without undervaluing the services of American philanthropists and statesmen, the object of this paper is to do justice to American Christianity in its relations to the antislavery movement. To no single champion are exclusive honors due. Detracting not a single iota from Mr. Garrison's merits, he will be introduced in his own time, amid his surroundings, as conspicuous among many, whose uncompromising spirit gave a sterner type to the struggle, while the services of wiser and broader leaders and different measures determined the ultimate result.

A broad survey and an intelligent analysis of the field, through the entire history of the American antislavery movement, will prepare us for a discriminating verdict. This history comprises nearly one hundred and ninety years, and is divisible into three periods: 1. *The period of irregular, unorganized agitation*, from 1675-1774; 2. *The period of organized effort, on the basis of gradual emancipation*, 1774-1832; 3. *The period of radical organized agitation*, 1832-1863.

We shall see that while the complex ecclesiastical relations of the Churches sometimes embarrassed their organic action, and exposed it to criticism, nevertheless the whole movement sprang out of the religious sentiment of the people, under the individual leadership largely of the clergy and laity, often from the formal action of the Churches, and, throughout all its phases, was sustained by the religious life of the Churches.

I. In searching through the first period of irregular and unorganized agitation (1675-1774) we find the earliest Protestant apostle to the Indians, Rev. John Eliot, in the year 1675, memorializing the Governor and Council of Massachusetts against selling captured Indians into slavery, because "the selling of souls is dangerous merchandise;" and also, "with a bleeding and burning passion," says Cotton Mather, remonstrating against "the abject condition of the enslaved Africans." We find a body of German Quakers, in Germantown, Pa., as early as

* Rev. C. A. Bartol, D.D., Boston, "Discourse on the Death of Mr. Garrison."

1688, presenting a protest to their Yearly Meeting against "buying, selling, and holding men in slavery;" and, three years later, Mr. George Keith, also a Pennsylvania Quaker, denouncing slavery as "contrary to the religion of Christ, the rights of man," etc.; and, three years later still, the Yearly Meeting taking formal action against the introduction of slaves. We discover, in the year 1700, Samuel Sewell, Esq., subsequently Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and a deeply religious man, publishing a pamphlet entitled, "The Selling of Joseph," characterizing, with singular boldness, the system of slavery, and enunciating "the primal truths of human equality and obligation." In 1716 we notice the Quakers, in Dartmouth, Mass., memorializing the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting on the evil of slavery; and the Nantucket Society of Friends declaring that it is not agreeable to the truth to purchase and hold slaves; and, in 1729, the same Society sending a serious address on this subject to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The same year we recognize William Burling, in the Yearly Meeting on Long Island, bearing faithful testimony against slavery; and Elihu Coleman and Ralph Standifred publishing pamphlets condemning the institution as "iniquitous and antichristian;" and, eight years after, Benjamin Lay, another Quaker, pleading the cause of the bondmen, in a volume published from the press of Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia.

In 1736 we find Rev. John Wesley, in Georgia, protesting against slavery, and in 1739 Rev. George Whitefield addressing a letter to the Southern Colonies, sharply denouncing the system and its barbarities—a testimony frequently repeated in subsequent tours in America during thirty years. In the years 1755, 1756, and 1757 we notice Rev. John Wesley, and Rev. Samuel Davis, an able Presbyterian minister in Virginia, subsequently President of Princeton College, conducting a correspondence on the subject of slavery, Mr. Wesley donating to the latter books for the benefit of the colored people.

From 1746 to 1767 we trace Mr. John Woolson, a distinguished Friend in New Jersey, traveling extensively through the Middle and Southern Colonies, preaching against the practice of holding men in bondage. In the latter part of this period, Anthony Benezet, a man of practical piety, a son of

Huguenot parents, appears in the field, toiling for the enlightenment of the oppressed.

During the ten years preceding the Revolution, a desire for emancipation and the extinction of the slave-trade became very general, and found frequent utterance in pulpits and pamphlets. Nor were these efforts without apparent fruit. Many towns passed resolutions praying the colonial legislatures to take action at once in the interests of humanity; and many slave-masters, who subsequently aided in inaugurating the Revolution and in fighting its battles, became hostile to the slave-trade, and even to the existence of slavery itself. The general agitation of questions relating to the rights of man, and particularly the colonial rights, aided this movement, and made the sinfulness and wrong of slavery more apparent.

II. The period of organized effort—1774–1832—on the basis of gradual emancipation—the fruitage of the abundant seed-sowing of the previous period—commenced just prior to the Revolution.

The "Pennsylvania Abolition Society"—the first ever formed in America—entered the field in 1774, and, after a suspension for several years, during the war, reappeared in 1784. Then followed "Abolition" Societies, in New York, in 1785; in Rhode Island, in 1789; in Connecticut, in 1790; in New Jersey, in 1792; and, soon after, in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Annual National "Abolition" Conventions, comprising delegates from eight States, focalized public sentiment from 1794 to 1804, and contributed largely to the abolition of slavery in the Northern States. Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, and Mason, in Virginia; Franklin and Dr. Rush, in Pennsylvania; Hamilton and Jay, in New York; Roger Sherman, in Connecticut; and many others of the strongest statesmen, the ripest scholars, and purest philanthropists in the closing quarter of the last century, were pronounced emancipationists, participating actively in abolition movements. The Pennsylvania "Abolition" Society continued in active operation down to the time when emancipation was accomplished under the Proclamation of President Lincoln. Some of the other Societies disappeared early in this century, and for fifteen years the National Conventions were suspended, but subsequently were resumed in 1824, 1826, 1828, and 1829.

With no other exhibit of this period, it might be supposed that these early organizations, and the results achieved, were due to the influence of statesmen and philanthropists, and were purely humanitarian in their character. But such a view would seriously mistake the facts and overlook the prime impulse of the movement. Christian laymen and divines constituted its best leaders and also its rank and file, furnishing its pabulum and its inspiration.

In the six years from 1770 to 1776, in the midst of which the period now under consideration opened, the antislavery efforts of several Christian gentlemen attract particular attention. In Pennsylvania, that sterling Christian nobleman, Anthony Benezet, is still in the midst of his indefatigable labors, "few men," according to Dr. Rush, "ever living a more disinterested life"—the supreme objects of his enthusiastic philanthropy, the abolition of the slave-trade and the emancipation and instruction of the negroes. He conducts evening schools in Philadelphia for their benefit, and writes, publishes, and distributes throughout the Colonies, at his own expense, tracts against slavery. He holds correspondence on this subject with Wesley, and sends letters to the queens of England and Portugal to enlist their influence against the slave-trade. His volume on "Guinea and the Slave-trade" enlightens and quickens the youthful mind of the great English antislavery reformer, Clarkson, imparting an impulse to his great life-work. Assisted by George Bryam, Esq., in 1780, the Legislature of Pennsylvania is persuaded to pass an act of emancipation—the fitting culmination of Benezet's Christian labors. Dying soon after, his valuable estate is bequeathed for the benefit of the negroes, and his example remains a beautiful illustration of the Huguenot spirit he had inherited.

In 1773 another eminent Philadelphian, Dr. Benjamin Rush, conspicuous as a Christian, a philanthropist, and a statesman, in whose house Asbury and other early Wesleyan evangelists often found a hospitable home, publishes an address on the injustice and inhumanity of slavery. The following year the first Continental Congress, while laying the foundations of the new nation, solemnly pledges that the United Colonies shall "neither import nor purchase any slaves, and will wholly discontinue the slave-trade." Soon after the North Carolina, Virginia, and

Georgia Conventions pledge their "utmost endeavors for the manumission of the slaves in their Colonies." On April 6, 1776, Congress resolves, without opposition, that "no slave be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies." All these movements are largely credited to the influence of Dr. Rush.

But one of the most decided and resolute champions of anti-slavery, at the opening of this period, appears in Newport, R. I.—Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., famous for the School of theology that bore his name. A frequent witness of the landing of slaves from Africa, near his church and home, he becomes deeply stirred with the abominations of the system. As early as 1770 he boldly attacks the infamous trade in his own congregation, (deeply involved in the guilt of slave-trading and slave-holding,) sharply rebuking the sin, and pleading the cause of its victims. Through his efforts, in 1774 the further importation of negroes is prohibited in Rhode Island. In 1776 he publishes his famous pamphlet against slavery—the ablest document that had then appeared on the subject—dedicated to the Continental Congress, urging "the duty and interest of the American States to emancipate all their African slaves." Extensively circulated among the statesmen of that day, and subsequently republished and widely scattered by the New York Abolition Society, after its organization in 1785, its influence appears, as a most potential factor in molding the public sentiment of the times. As further fruits of Dr. Hopkins' labors, we find Rhode Island enacting that all children born in slavery after March, 1784, shall be free, and the Rhode Island Abolition Society formed in his house in the same year.

Three other eminent Congregationalists, two of whom, Rev. Ezra Styles, D.D., President of Yale College, and Judge Baldwin—a divine and a layman—were leading officers in the first Connecticut Abolition Society, and the other, Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., one of the most vigorous preachers of the time, enter this arena of conflict for human rights, the latter boldly proclaiming the most radical antislavery doctrines, actively participating in the State and National Abolition Conventions, and, in 1795, writing the address of the National Convention to South Carolina, Georgia, and other Southern States.

Nor have the Friends, the early advocates and devoted pioneers of abolition, lost any of their antislavery zeal with the

lapse of years; but at their Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, in 1774, they enact regulations against slavery more stringent than any that had preceded; and, in 1776, resolve that "owners of slaves, who refuse to execute proper instruments for giving them their freedom, shall be disowned." A few years later they drive all slave-owners from their communion—the first religious body to purge itself wholly from this great iniquity. Then they closely follow Congress with memorials, the most prominent of which were in 1783, 1790, and 1797, the latter provoking from Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, the petulant retort, that "the Quakers instead of being peace-makers are war-makers," for "they continually stir up insurrection among the negroes." The Moravians co-operated with the Friends in these early movements.

In 1774 Rev. John Wesley's celebrated tract, "Thoughts on Slavery," subsequently sown broadcast throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, during the great English emancipation movement, was published and circulated among his Societies in America. His first American itinerants were active disseminators of his antislavery views, suffering much persecution on account of them. In 1780 the Baltimore Conference declared slavery to be "contrary to the law of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society," required the traveling preachers holding slaves to promise to set them free, and advised their people to do the same. The disciplinary lines were drawn more closely by the Conferences in 1783 and 1784; and in the celebrated "Christmas Conference," in 1784, by which the Methodist Societies in America were formally organized into one Church, very stringent regulations were adopted requiring every Methodist holding slaves to execute an instrument of emancipation, or to leave the Church within one year, and allowing no slave-holder to be admitted into the Church, or to the Lord's supper, until he had complied with this requirement of emancipation, if the laws of the State admitted of freedom. The buying, selling, or giving away of slaves, except to free them, was forbidden on pain of expulsion.*

* These rules awakened great opposition, but Dr. Coke went through the South with characteristic boldness, expounding and defending them in the largest gatherings. Mobs were aroused, and on one occasion "a high-headed lady" offered to pay the rioters fifty pounds "if they would give the little doctor one hundred lashes."

Under Asbury and Coke petitions were drawn up asking the Legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina to provide for immediate or gradual emancipation. The Methodist preachers, with few exceptions, were decided emancipationists. Asbury, Coke, O'Kelley, M'Kendree, and others, preached flamingly against slavery. Emancipations became frequent where they were allowed, and mobs multiplied. Asbury and Coke shrank before the legal difficulties of the question in some of the States, and consented to the suspension of the stringent rules which had been adopted. Subsequent Conferences, in 1786, 1792, and 1796, modified the rules, but retained the emphatic declaration against the slave system. The rule adopted in 1800 was somewhat stronger, and provision was made for memorializing the State Legislatures on the subject of gradual emancipation. In carrying out this action some of the preachers incurred persecution, one of whom, Rev. George Dougharty, of South Carolina, died from injuries received from a mob. The Quarterly and Annual Conferences, in Kentucky and Tennessee, from 1806 to 1816, took decided action, and many emancipations were effected.

Each successive General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1800 to 1824, took some action in regard to slavery, sometimes modifying and sometimes strengthening previous action. The section adopted in 1824, which remained unchanged for thirty-six years, declared that no slave-holder should be eligible to any official station in the Church, where the laws of the State in which he lived admitted of emancipation and permitted the liberated slave to enjoy freedom; and that when any traveling preacher became owner of slave property he should forfeit his ministerial character in the Church, unless he executed, if practicable, a legal emancipation of his slaves conformably to the laws of the State in which he lived. The General Rule of the Church, from 1792 to the present day, has prohibited "the buying and selling of men, women, and children with the intention to enslave them." At a later date, as we shall see, the holding of persons in slavery was also prohibited.

Simultaneously with other ecclesiastical utterances at the opening of this period, was the declaration of antislavery sentiments, in 1774, by the Presbyterian Synod of New York and

Philadelphia. Similar action was taken in 1780, and a fuller expression, though more cautiously phrased than those of other religious bodies, was proclaimed in 1787, recommending their people "to use the most prudent measures consistent with the interest and state of civil society, to procure, eventually, the final abolition of slavery in America." This subject came before the General Assembly in 1793, 1795, and 1815, when the expression of 1787 was re-affirmed.

In Kentucky, from an early period, a decided antislavery sentiment manifested itself in the Presbyterian Church. Rev. David Rice, a member of the convention that framed the State Constitution in 1791, labored hard to secure in that instrument a provision for the emancipation of the slaves, and published a pamphlet containing the views he had advocated. The Presbytery of Transylvania, in 1794, urged its people to prepare their slaves for freedom. Through several successive years these views were reiterated. In 1805 two young ministers, graduates from Dickinson College, Robert G. Wilson and James Gilliland, found it necessary to leave the Carolinas on account of their pronounced opinions in favor of emancipation. They settled in Ohio, whither others from Kentucky and Tennessee subsequently fled, and became promoters of positive antislavery sentiments.

In 1818 the sale of a slave, a member of the Presbyterian Church, was brought to the notice of the General Assembly, and a committee, of which Dr. Ashbel Green was chairman, reported an elaborate preamble containing a strong indictment against slavery, and recommending all Christians "to use their honest, earnest, unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times, and, as speedily as possible, to efface this blot from our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the world." They also warned their people against making any unavoidable delay in accomplishing this end "a cover for the love or practice of slavery, or a pretense for not using efforts that are lawful and practicable to extinguish this evil." In 1825 the Assembly say, "No more honored name can be conferred upon a minister of Jesus Christ than that of Apostle to the American slaves." In 1826 the Presbyterian Synod of Ohio, by a large majority, strongly condemned slavery—an

utterance subsequently quoted by Mr. Garrison, in the first volume of the "Liberator."

In the first part of this century, the invention and general introduction of the cotton-gin into the South, the rapid increase of cotton manufacturing and the growing mercantile and commercial interests connected with Southern products, all combined to make slave labor more profitable than formerly, and to deteriorate the moral sentiment in regard to the institution. Under such circumstances a determined purpose was formed to retain slavery where it already existed and to extend its domain in the territories. Hence laws prohibiting emancipation, the Missouri Compromise, and the intense excitement attending its adoption. After this the fires of agitation declined, a general condition of stupor followed, the public conscience was clouded, and Southern Legislatures repealed the more humane provisions of the slave-codes. Large numbers of all classes bowed in supple subserviency to the slave power, and treated the discussion of slavery as dangerous to the perpetuity of the Union. During this period the radical pro-slavery theories, for the advocacy of which Hon. John C. Calhoun was noted, were echoed by many divines and statesmen, and became a common sentiment in the South, and even with some at the North. It was contended that slavery was a divine institution, defensible from the Bible, and "the corner-stone of all enduring political institutions." From about 1805 to 1830 the general tendency of sentiment in regard to slavery, in the country and in the Churches, deteriorated. The disciplinary regulations against slavery became more or less a dead-letter, seldom enforced, and perhaps never in large sections; and the advocacy of antislavery principles was often severely denounced. In the North many sympathized with the South, and co-operated with them in every possible way in the legislative councils of the States and of the Churches.

But, even in this period of decadence, strong antislavery sentiments burned in many hearts. Among the Quakers, in 1814, Elias Hicks published a volume on slavery, containing the most radical principles of abolition. About 1820, in Kentucky and Tennessee, some ministers proclaimed with great clearness and force the distinctive doctrines of abolition. Dwelling in the midst of pro-slavery communities, increasingly intolerant

toward emancipation, the residence of these ministers became uncomfortable and unsafe. Accordingly, such men as Rev. John Rankin, a Presbyterian minister, and others, removed with their flocks to Ohio. It was no uncommon thing for the Methodist itinerants to speak freely, in public and in private, against slavery. Rev. Jacob Gruber, of the Baltimore Conference, was especially outspoken; and, while presiding elder, in 1818, at a camp-meeting, preached plainly against the slave system, for which he was arrested and tried for felony. He was defended by Roger B. Taney, Esq., subsequently Chief-Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and acquitted. In his eloquent plea, Mr. Taney affirmed that "the Methodist Church had steadily in view the abolition of slavery," that "no slaveholder was allowed to be a minister in it," and that "its preachers were accustomed to speak of the injustice and oppression of slavery."

Several other active antislavery workers appeared between 1815 and 1832. Near Wheeling, Va., resided a man of staunch New Jersey Quaker stock, who had deep convictions of the wrong of slavery, and clear views of duty in regard to the great evil. Benjamin Lundy seized the trailing banner of antislavery, and, for about a score of years, was a conspicuous standard-bearer. From 1815 to 1830 his labors were immense, involving great personal hardship and sacrifice, placing him in advance of all contemporaneous abolitionists. From him Mr. Garrison derived his first positive antislavery convictions.

Residing in Wheeling, a great thoroughfare of the interstate slave-trade, Mr. Lundy was powerfully stirred by the atrocities of the slave system, and could obtain no peace of mind until he espoused the cause of the oppressed. In his own house, in 1815, he organized "The Union Humane Society," which soon numbered five hundred members in that region. Auxiliaries were formed in Kentucky, Tennessee, etc., and appeals were widely scattered. Charles Osborne, Esq., soon became his fellow laborer, the two publishing "The Philanthropist," at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1821. Visiting Illinois and Missouri, Mr. Lundy portrayed the evils of the slave system. Returning, he started the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," at Steubenville, Ohio—destined to a marked and stormy career—for about ten years the only distinctive antislavery journal in the

country. In 1822 he boldly removed his paper to Greenville, Tenn., the center of slavery. In midwinter, early in 1824, he traveled on horseback, at his own expense, to Philadelphia to attend the National Abolition Convention. Returning, he removed his paper to Baltimore. Traveling on foot in the summer, and carrying his own knapsack, he lectured on slavery through North Carolina and Virginia, and organized anti-slavery societies, which, in the course of three years, comprised three thousand members. He was received in Baltimore "civilly, but coolly," even by antislavery men, with only words of discouragement for his paper. In 1825 a series of articles on the domestic slave-trade enraged the slave-dealers, who assaulted him in the streets and compelled the removal of his paper to Washington. He visited Hayti and Texas in the interest of the slaves. In 1826 a National Abolition Convention was held in Baltimore, attended by delegates from eighty of the one hundred and forty Abolition societies in the country, nearly all of which traced their origin to Mr. Lundy's efforts.

In the meantime antislavery sentiment was developing in minds destined to become standard-bearers in the great reform. In 1816 Alvan Stewart, subsequently an able lawyer and orator, in New York, and one of the leaders in the antislavery agitation from 1830-1850, visited the South, witnessed the abominations of slavery, and became an ardent abolitionist. From that time he was accustomed to portray the horrors of slavery in fervid language, and rendered effective service to the cause of antislavery in the days of its weakness. In 1822 to 1824 Mr. Theodore D. Weld, a candidate for the Congregational ministry, visited the South, traveling extensively, and witnessing the terrible aspects of slavery. Some years later he said, "On this tour I saw slavery at home, and became a radical abolitionist." Before Mr. Garrison published the "*Liberator*," we find him exerting his influence positively against slavery; and, in 1831, in Huntsville, Alabama, discussing the subject of slavery with Rev. Dr. Allen, a Presbyterian minister, who, unable to answer his cogent arguments, appealed to Mr. James G. Birney, an elder in his Church. Several interviews followed, in which Mr. Birney was convinced of the wrong of slavery, and entered upon the work, first of colonization, and afterward of reform.

Rev. James Dickey, of Kentucky, in 1824, became deeply

impressed with the wrong of slavery, and published his views in an able volume; and in the same year, Rev. John Rankin, to whom reference has been made, published a series of letters, addressed to a Virginia slave-holder, denouncing slavery as "a never-failing fountain of grossest immoralities, and one of the deepest sources of human misery." From this volume, Rev. Samuel J. May, in 1824, received his first antislavery impressions. It took strong ground in favor of "immediate emancipation." * Mr. Rankin was untiring in his antislavery efforts, organizing societies in Kentucky, and in the vicinity of Ripley, Ohio, developing around him a strong antislavery sentiment. He was among the first movers in the antislavery societies formed under Mr. Garrison's leadership, always declaring, says Mr. Wilson, that "he himself, and the antislavery societies he had organized, believed and avowed the doctrine of immediate emancipation." †

In the spring of 1828 Mr. Lundy visited New York city and the New England States, enlisting new laborers in the field. The Tappans, in New York city, were interested. Then we find him visiting Rev. Samuel J. May, at Brooklyn, Conn., and deeply impressing his already awakened mind. Thence he went to Providence, and found William Goodell, of whom he said, "I endeavored to arouse him, but he was slow of speech on the subject." His labors, however, were not in vain. Mr. Goodell's mind moved surely and strongly, and his paper, "The Weekly Investigator," started the previous year, devoted to moral and political discussion, thenceforth gave increasing prominence to temperance and slavery. We find Mr. Goodell, hand in hand with Mr. Garrison, ‡ in 1829, calling upon prominent Boston ministers to secure their co-operation in the cause of antislavery, and, for more than thirty years, a sturdy champion of abolition.

Mr. Lundy moved on to Boston, § where he could find no

* See "Slavery and Antislavery," by William Goodell, p. 490.

† "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," vol. i, p. 178.

‡ "Slavery and Antislavery," by William Goodell, p. 401, note.

§ The following is an extract from Lundy's private journal, and justifies the above statement: "At Boston I could hear of no abolitionist resident of the place. At the house where I stayed I became acquainted with William L. Garrison, who was a boarder there. He had not then turned his attention particularly to the slavery question. I visited the Boston clergy, and finally got together eight of

abolitionists; but, "in the same house where he boarded," he met Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, then editing "The Philanthropist," a temperance paper, not having particularly turned his attention to the subject of slavery. Mr. Lundy's conversations awakened Mr. Garrison's mind,* and became the connecting-link between the earlier and later antislavery movements. After visiting Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New York, Mr. Lundy returned to Washington, where the last of the Abolition Conventions, originated in 1794, was held in 1829.

The English antislavery movement, directed first against the slave-trade, then for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and, later still, for gradual emancipation, rapidly assumed a more radical type, and the reform literature abounded in appeals for immediate emancipation. In 1825 Miss Elizabeth Herrick, a member of the Society of Friends, published a pamphlet entitled, "Immediate, not Gradual, Emancipation," which soon became the watch-word of the reform.

This doctrine had been urged by Rev. Dr. Hopkins and the younger Edwards in the last century. The latter, in 1791, proclaimed that "every man who cannot show that his negro hath, by his voluntary conduct, forfeited his liberty, is obligated *immediately to manumit him.*" We have seen Rev. John Rankin advocating this doctrine in 1824, and Rev. Samuel J. May imbibing it from Mr. Rankin's book. When Mr. May heard Mr. Garrison's lecture, in Boston, October, 1830, advocating immediate emancipation, he was fully with him in his views, for he declared that Mr. Garrison's ideas "satisfied

them, belonging to various sects. Such an occurrence, it was said, was seldom, if ever, before known in that town. The eight clergymen all cordially approved of my object, and each of them cheerfully subscribed to my paper, in order to encourage by their example, members of their several congregations to take it. William L. Garrison, who sat in the room and witnessed our proceedings, also expressed his approbation of my doctrines. A few days afterward we had a large meeting. After I had finished my lecture several clergymen spoke. William L. Garrison shortly afterward wrote an article on the subject for one of the daily papers."

* At the Anniversary of the American Antislavery Society in New York city, in 1863, Mr. Garrison said: "Had it not been for him, I know not where I should have been at the present time. My eyes might have been sealed for my whole life; and possibly, though I trust in God I should not have been, I might have been led in some direction or other so far as even to care nothing for slavery in my country."

his mind and heart." Mr. William Goodell,* also, is supposed to have antedated Mr. Garrison, in adopting this radical principle, and in early conversations to have led him to adopt it.

Another name deserves honorable mention as a pioneer in antislavery movements. Rev. George Bourne, of the Presbyterian Church, was one of the most noteworthy antislavery men of this period, and one of the most radical and uncompromising in his utterances, far in advance of his times. While editing a paper in Baltimore (1805-1809) he wrote freely against the slave-trade and the slave-system. As pastor of Churches in Virginia (1809-1816) he delivered powerful antislavery utterances, and published (Harrisonburgh, Va., 1812, subsequently republished, in Philadelphia, 1816,) a volume, "The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable," containing the doctrine of immediate emancipation. Driven from Virginia by the slave-holders, in 1816, he maintained the same testimony, as pastor, at Germantown, Pa. In the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1818, he took a decided part in the great debate on slavery. In 1830 he edited "The Protestant," (New York city;) in 1834 the "Protestant Vindicator;" and, later, the "Christian Intelligencer." His name appears as an active participator in the organization of the first Antislavery Societies (1833, 1834) in New York city and Philadelphia. In 1833 he published, (Middletown, Conn.,) "Pictures of Slavery in the United States," from his personal observations in Virginia, the volume also containing the former book enlarged. In 1837 this was republished (Isaac Knapp, Boston) with an addition—"Slavery Illustrated in its Effects upon Woman"—constituting one of the strong antislavery documents of those times, (1833-1840.) In a letter to Mr. Bourne's son, in 1858, Mr. Garrison

* Mr. Goodell commenced, in 1827, the editing and publication of the "Weekly Investigator," in Providence, R. I., "devoted to moral and political discussion, and reformation in general, including temperance and antislavery." Some time in 1827 or 1828 Mr. Garrison came to Boston to assist Rev. William Collier (Baptist) in editing and printing "The National Philanthropist," devoted wholly to temperance. Late in 1828 Mr. Garrison went to Bennington, Vt., to edit "The Journal of the Times;" and, in January, 1829, Mr. Goodell's paper was merged into the "National Philanthropist," in Boston, Mr. Collier retiring. In July, 1830, it was removed to New York, and published, by W. Goodell and P. Crandall, as "The Genius of Temperance," and subsequently discontinued, Mr. Goodell then taking charge of the "Emancipator."

said: "I confess my early and large indebtedness to him for enabling me to apprehend with irresistible clearness the inherent sinfulness of slavery under all circumstances, and its utter incompatibility with the spirit and precepts of Christianity. I felt, and was inspired by, the magnetism of his lion-hearted soul, which knew nothing of fear, and trampled upon all compromises with oppression, yet was full of womanly gentleness and susceptibility; and mightily did he aid the anti-slavery cause, in its earliest stages, by his advocacy of the doctrine of immediate emancipation, his exposure of the hypocrisy of the colonization scheme, and his reprobation of a negro-hating, slave-holding religion."

We have introduced these facts to show that Mr. Garrison is not entitled to the credit of originality—as some have claimed—for his peculiar views, but was preceded by others, and even guided by them.

In the latter part of 1828 Mr. Garrison went to Bennington, Vt., where he edited "*The Journal of the Times*," and soon achieved the reputation of a fanatic. In his mind, sharper and intenser than Mr. Lundy's, antislavery sentiments assumed a sterner type than the sturdy Quaker ever dreamed of, and, in the midst of the prevailing stupor, he rang out the astounding notes of immediate emancipation. Here he was again visited by Mr. Lundy, whose invitation to aid him in editing his paper in Baltimore he accepted; in which service he became a victim of slave-holding vengeance, fully determining his life career. The story of his severe attacks upon the slave-system, his arrest, trial, incarceration, and release through the generosity of Arthur Tappan, is familiar to all. He returned to Boston, and on the first of January, 1831, commenced the publication of "*The Liberator*," a redoubtable knight-errant, helmeted, greaved, and mounted upon a fiery charger, the hero of many a desperate tournament, of many a bloody fray, of many a fierce encounter.

Thus far the leading champions of antislavery have been chiefly representatives of the Churches; and the Churches have uttered emphatic testimony, and enacted stringent disciplinary regulations against slavery, though sometimes hesitating and hindered because of the complex political environment of the institution. The field, therefore, was not an uncultivated

one, nor destitute of resolute, experienced workers, when Mr. Garrison arose. One hundred and fifty-seven years of anti-slavery seed-sowing, by religious men; fifty-eight years of organized movements, by societies and conventions, composed chiefly of members of the Churches; and more than sixty years of legislation against slavery by ecclesiastical bodies, preceded the advent of Mr. Garrison in the field, who, a child of the Church, and originally inspired by her ministrations, came forth as one of the long succession of apostles of antislavery.

More than this: At the time when Mr. Garrison came before the public this cause was gaining prestige from the culmination and assured speedy triumph of British emancipation, incepted, championed, and sustained, from first to last, by the best representatives of British Christianity in and out of Parliament. The first of August, 1834, witnessed the consummation; and the example of that sublime achievement stirred the world with powerful pulsations of universal liberty.

ART. V.—THE PLACE OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature: with Special Reference to Certain Recondite, Neglected, or Disputed Passages. In Twelve Lectures, Delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876-1879. With a Bibliographical Appendix. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. New York: Harper & Brothers.

DEEDS must always anticipate elevated and fascinating historiography. Even poets must have something on which to build their shining castles. Byron, in his boat on Lake Geneva, could never write without first getting stirred by the record of men in the glow of action. Had there been no Achilles or Agamemnon there had never been an Iliad. The Americans have been too busy at creating history to give due attention to the writing of it. Our period of repose and retrospection has begun to dawn, however, and, now that our current of life is getting more regular and methodical, the opportunity is coming for a calm and judicial examination of the great factors that have entered into our national development. The period from the discovery of America, in 1492, down to the Pilgrim

landing at Plymouth, in 1620, had little bearing on the later America. It was the time of pause and uncertainty, when the prospect bade fair to make of this western world simply a new territory which should compensate Rome for her Protestant losses in the eastern. The color of that century and a quarter, so far as the religious promise of this continent was concerned, was Jesuitical, stationary, revolutionary, half Spanish, and half French. But when the colonists on the "Mayflower" saw before them the shore-line of Plymouth, on that memorable November morning, after a stormy passage of ninety-eight days, the darker star disappeared from this new sky, and a brighter one came in sight to take its place. Holmes has struck the real significance of the westward pilgrims:

"And these were they who gave us birth,
The Pilgrims of the sunset wave;
Who won for us this virgin earth,
And freedom with the soil they gave."

Old things were to pass away, and all things were to become new. A revolution was to take place. From that time forward this part of the American continent was in Protestant hands. Events transpired in their natural order. The immigrations, the colonial regulations for local government, and the small educational beginnings, proved clearly enough the presence here of a force that meant no compromise with Rome, but a Protestant commonwealth for all the coming centuries. Mexico, and Central and South America, with their ebb and flow of revolution, their incapacity to deal with the aborigines, their perpetual borrowing of thought and method and faith from the corrupt Latin countries of Southern Europe, are visible proof of what the United States would have been without the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon element in that critical, plastic period of our history. We have made mistakes. Sometimes we have been excessively patient, and now and then have been over hasty. But taking 1620 and 1880 as the *termini* of our positive and homogeneous development, no historical period can show more rapid growth, a keener eye for real exigencies, and a stronger arm to serve the righteous cause.

To Congregationalism belongs the high honor of being the oldest positively religious element in this permanent American life. It was not simply a protest against Rome, but against

the economy of the English Establishment. The most careful student of the Brownists, before they ever dreamed of leaving England for Amsterdam or Leyden, or were dignified with the name of Congregationalists, will fail to find one word against Romanism, where he will find ten against the Protestant Church of England. But we must not forget that the protest against Rome was implied in the latter. Indeed, the real, though not always expressed, ground of objection to episcopacy and other elements of the English Protestant system, was that the Church of England was only half Protestant. Here it was about right. Who can tell whether Romanism or Protestantism predominated in the Church of England of Henry VIII.? But for the younger denominations that have sprung from the loins of the first Church of England, and have been teaching it lessons ever since, the difference between the latter and the Church of Rome would to-day be so slight that either could be taken as a substitute for the other. This is not the first historical instance, neither will it be the last, when the most of a parent's wisdom has been derived from the lips and example of his children.

The aim which Dr. Dexter has in view, if we may judge from the title of his work, is to make the literature of Congregationalism tell the story of the religious body itself. What is this Church? To answer this question, he would ask, What has it written? His book, therefore, is the literary record of the denomination of which he is an honored son and an ardent student. By the fruit of the pen he would show what manner of tree this is which sprang from the small grain in calm little Norwich three centuries ago, and has been shooting out its branches through the whole period. This is very laudable, though all too special a purpose for broad and full historical writing. It judges great movements by data often obscure and uncertain. It ignores the fact that generally the true hero writes but little. It would not be safe to test the Protectorate by such sprawling general orders of Cromwell as Carlyle has furnished us, or, going further back, to judge Charlemagne's reign by any record which the hero made, save through the few compact pages of his faithful Eginhard. The result, however, is good, for it follows one thread of development from the beginning. It absolutely finishes one subject, and

hands it over to the general Church historian for incorporation in his work for all time to come. The Congregational Church placed firm emphasis on the power of the pen from the time when it was only a floating dream in the brain of quaint, belligerent, uncompromising Robert Browne. Whether still in England, or in Holland, or as a fresh colonist on the shore of Massachusetts, it used the printing-press with untiring zeal. Its very bibliography reveals a marvel of literary productiveness. Dr. Dexter had already written largely on the Church of his fellowship and love before he came to this crowning point of his historical studies, for which, with his antiquarian taste and keen eye, he has searched for all existing literary memorials of the Pilgrim and Puritan in the libraries and small towns of New England, and has ransacked the collections of England and Holland, and visited the Brownist Meccas on both sides of the Channel. He pays little attention to style, and now and then lingers too long on minor events; but these are defects of such small weight that they do not enter into our estimate of the general finish of his work.

The Congregational place in literature can be determined but by its actual achievement in life. We begin with the fortunes of Browne, the father of Congregationalism. While the Church which he founded has always claimed a settled ministry, Browne himself, during the whole of that part of his life which bears any relation to Congregationalism, and was at all productive, was one of the princes of an unwearied itinerancy. He was born in Totthorpe, Rutlandshire, England, in 1550. At the age of twenty he attended Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, about a year; became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk; began to disseminate his doctrines of independency while in this position, but was aided by the duke in refusing to respond to the summons of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; afterward went to Southwark, where he taught three years; lectured to scattered companies on Sundays in a gravel pit in Islington, near London; returned to his father's home, because of the plague in London; re-appeared as a student at Cambridge; preached six months in a pulpit of the city, and sent back the money he was entitled to; began to harangue against the bishops; was prohibited by them from further preaching; went to Norwich, where he organized a little Church of sympathizers; on ac-

count of persecution he and his flock emigrated to Middlebury, Holland; through lack of harmony, he and four or five families left for Scotland; was soon cited before the Kirk of Edinburgh; returned to his father's house in England; went to Stamford; preached his doctrines at Northampton; was cited before Bishop Linsell, but, on refusing to appear, was excommunicated; afterward became reconciled, made concessions, and was re-admitted to the Church of England; became master of St. Olave's, Southwark, on agreeing not to keep any conventicles, or confer with suspected or disorderly persons, but to accompany the children to sermons and lectures in the Church, to conform to the doctrine of the Church of England, to use the regular Catechism in the school, and to take communion in the parish; received from his kinsman, Lord Burghley, the living of Achurch; occupied it full forty years; and died at last in Northampton jail.

Browne had few co-workers. He held a busy pen, and was an original in thought and expression. The work which he did was finished when he ceased his wanderings and re-entered the Church of England. His last forty years count for nothing in making an estimate of his life. He had expressed his opinions of dissent from the Church of England, and after practically giving the denial to this first antagonistic part of his life by his long service within the fold from which he had been driven, there were others who took up the cause which he renounced, appealed, and with justice, to his writings as their authority, developed his forsaken cause in a careful and methodical way, and in time gave birth to a posterity which carried on still further their cause of independency. To the words of Browne, the protesting and unreconciled, therefore, we must look for the doctrinal warrant for the Congregational movement. The key-note to this whole opposition to the Church of England was the ungodliness of its members. The entire historical basis of the Brownism of the latter part of the sixteenth and the former half of the seventeenth, and of the Congregationalism of the two succeeding centuries, can be put into a single line—the unchristian life of the average parishioner of the Church of England. If men of unholy life could be members of the Church, and share in its sacraments, and control its destinies, Browne had no faith in such a Church. Dr. Dex-

ter puts the case thus: "Not merely the worldliest, and the most selfish and greedy people, but unbelievers and those of scandalous lives, might legally, if in point of fact they did not habitually, partake of the Lord's supper, without protest or distinction, side by side with the very elect and anointed of God." Browne saw this with his own eyes, and he did not hesitate to fulminate against this mixture of Christ and Belial in the Church of England as little better than that of Rome. He spoke on this wise:

No man can serve two contrary masters, saith Christ, (Matt. vi,) neither can they be the Lord's people without his staff of beauty and bands, (Zech. xi, 7;) that is, without the Lord's government, for his covenant is disannulled, as it followeth in the 10th verse. Now his government and scepter cannot be there where much open wickedness is incurable. For if open wickedness must needs be suffered, it is suffered in those which are without; as Paul saith, What have I to do to judge them which are without? (1 Cor. v, 12.) And again he saith, even of these later times, that men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, cursed thinkers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, intemperate, fierce, despisers of them which are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having a show of godliness, but having denied the power thereof. From such we must turn away, as Paul warneth, (2 Tim. iii, 2;) that is, we must count them none of the Church, and leave them, whether in all these or in some of them they be openly so faulty as that they be incurable. Also, if any be forced by laws, penalties, and persecutions, as in those parishes, to join with any such persons either in the sacraments, or in the service and worship of God, they ought utterly to forsake them and avoid such wickedness. For the abomination is set up, antichrist is got into his throne, and who ought to abide it? yea, who ought not to seek from sea to sea, and from land to land, as it is written, (Amos viii, 12,) to have the word and the sacraments better administered, and his service and worship in better manner?

The true Christian is justified in withdrawing from a fallen, or never risen, Church, such as Browne conceived the Church of England. This is his argument for separation:

Not that we can keep its commandments without all breach or offense, for we are not Donatists, as the adversaries slander us, that we should say we may be without sin, or that the Church may be without public offenses, or if there fall out some sort of grosser sins that therefore it should cease to be the Church of God; we teach no such doctrine; but if in any Church such gross

sins be incurable, and the Church hath not power to redress them, or rebelliously refuseth to redress them, then it ceaseth to be the Church of God, and so remaineth till it repent and take better order.

The difference between the estimate of the proper relation of the godly member of the Church of England to his Church by the founder of Congregationalism and the founder of Methodism, is very clear. Browne believed in separation, and advocated it with all his power. Wesley, coming after the chill and formalism which the long reign of Deism had inflicted on the Establishment, found himself a preacher within its fold, and set to work to check the evil and introduce a pure and fervent practical life. His care for the Church was not to leave it, but to work with his full might within it. With all his radical plans, he was too much of a conservative to advocate separation. The founding of a new reform organization was not originally in his thought. He hoped to so revive the spirit of the Church of England that the heaven might finally permeate the mass. He strove for a regeneration from within, by the introduction of the great descent of divine power. It was only when the movement became so strong, and the numbers so large, and the spirit on the part of the Church of England so hostile, that his Societies were compelled to a separate religious body. The hand of Providence compelled them to a strong ecclesiastical autonomy. There was no formal declaration of secession. There was no long list of charges giving a reason for withdrawal, made by the first generation of Methodists against the Church of England. They simply held their annual meetings, arranged their work for the new year, built their chapels, sent their missionaries west to America and east to India, constructed a great pastoral net-work over the British islands, and formed themselves into a Church in the scriptural and apostolic sense. They grew into independency. Congregationalism, on the other hand, started out with the idea of separation from the Church of England. It was the first note which Browne sounded, and it never ceased to be heard until, wearied and exhausted by his long warfare, he came back to the old hearth-stone. These two thoughts—intentional separation and undesigned independency—lie at the root of the whole development of Protestant ecclesiastical life. Each had

its advantages, its dangers, its peculiar triumphs. The one is better adapted to one age, the other to a different one. Browne could never have said what he did without prompt excision, or a steady march to the stake. Wesley could never have multiplied his followers, and carried on his marvelous work of organization and evangelization, if he had adopted Browne's plan of declaring secession with his first breath. Both movements, however, were directed by the same Hand, and the world has not yet seen the full, ripe harvest-field from either.

The part which satire has taken in religious controversy, and even in the great work of the Reformation, is usually one of the overlooked chapters in ecclesiastical historiography. There are always sober minds who disapprove of the introduction of this element, even when advocating their cause, on the ground that it indicates a reliance on an unserious agent. Nevertheless, there is a place for even the satirist; a public which only his pen can reach; a world of abuses which it is his function to reveal and hold up to just contempt. The search for the philosopher's stone in Germany had called forth many a learned volume, but it was reserved for the caustic pen of John Valentine Andrea to prove its absolute folly, and make it the laughing-stock of his generation. The "Praise of Folly," by the quiet and scholarly Erasmus, written by snatches while making a journey from Basel to Rotterdam, and illustrated by the pencil of Hans Holbein, did more to expose the superstitions and abominations of Romanism to popular contempt than the works of all the Reformers besides. The work of repudiating the errors of the Church of England, which Browne began, was very serious business. There would seem to have been no place for any but straightforward writing, and the use of the most reverent language. But suddenly there appeared a thin, black-letter pamphlet, bearing as impudent and unecclesiastical a title as ever printer put into type.* It was in the interest of the

* Thus runs the rare title: "Oh, read over D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy Work: or, An Epitome of the first Book of that right worshipful volume, written against the Puritans, in defense of the noble clergy, by as worshipful a priest, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest, or Elder, doctor of divillity, and Dean of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answer M. Doctor, they must needs say something that hath been spoken. Compiled for the behoof and overthrow of the parsons, vicars, and curates, that have learnt their catechisms, and are past grace. By the reverend and worthy Martin

Brownist movement, and was calculated to do infinite damage to the Establishment. It consisted simply of Brown's doctrines, thrown into the keenest satire. The corruption of the general clergy, the pride and vanity of the bishops, the repressive measures of the whole ecclesiastical government of Great Britain, and the corrupt life in the parishes, are dwelt upon without mercy. The books written against the Puritans by preachers of the Establishment had been carefully read by this Martin Marprelate, and their ignorance was now exposed with a cleaving force which excited universal interest. The pamphlet spared no man or thing which stood in its way. It shot out puns from its savage muzzle which made many a bishop fairly dance with rage. For example, the dignified Archbishop of Canterbury is called "*paltri-politan*," "his *gracelessness*, John Canter." The Bishops are described as "proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paltry, pestilent, and pernicious prelates, cogging and cozening knaves," and "horned masters of the Convocation House." John, Bishop of London, has a "notable brazen face," and is "dumb dunstical John;" the Bishop of Winchester "is not able to say bo to a goose;" and the Dean of Sarum deserves "a caudal of hempseed and a plaster of neck-weed, as well as some of your brothers the papists."

Martin had thoroughly acquainted himself with the life of the men whom he attacked. He charged John of London with swearing "like a lewd swag," with playing bowls on the Sabbath, with making a preacher out of his porter at the gate, with practically stealing some cloth, with refusing to pay his honest debts, with making hay on the Sabbath, with cutting down and selling the noble old elms of Fulham which did not belong to him personally, and with cheating a poor shepherd out of a legacy. Serious charges these, but they would not have been made without ground. He gives incidents of priestly immorality, openly naming his men, and makes the following broad declaration: "Those who are petty popes and petty antichrists ought not to be maintained in any commonwealth."

Marprelate, gentleman, and dedicated to the Convocation House. The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Bishops are at convenient leisure to view the same. In the meantime let them be content with this learned epistle. Printed Oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bouncing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman."

But my Lord B. in England . . . all the Bishops in England, Wales, and Ireland are petty popes and petty antichrists. Therefore no Lord Bishop is to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth." Still, Martin is willing to have peace. But, to do so, the Bishops must promise: 1. To labor to promote the preaching of the word in all parts of the land; 2. To make ministers of only godly men; 3. To punish nobody for refusing to wear popish garments, or omitting corruptions from the Prayer Book, or not kneeling at the communion; to leave off private excommunication and allow public fasts; and molest nobody for this book. Such is Martin's *ultimatum*, and he closes it thus: "These be the conditions which you brother Bishops shall be bound to keep inviolably on your behalf. And I your Brother Martin, on the other side, do faithfully promise upon the performance of the promises by you, never to make any more of your knavery known unto the world."

It is not necessary to add that Martin's terms were not accepted. His little book went throughout England. The Earl of Essex presented one to the Queen; the students of Oxford and Cambridge read it secretly; the four Bishops chiefly attacked met and took counsel together, saying that the enemy must be banished and his charges answered. The Queen gave special orders for the arrest of the author, wherever found. While the search was going on Martin thrust out another pamphlet, the promised "Epitome," which had as keen an edge as the first battle-ax. Take as specimens two of the *Errata* appended to it: "Wheresoever the prelates are called my Lords, take that for a fault;" and "There is nothing spoken at all of that notable hypocrite, Scambler, Bishop of Norwich. Take it for a great fault, but unless he leave his close dealing against the truth, I'll bestow a whole book of him." The answer of the Bishops came out in due time—a quarto of two hundred and fifty pages, "An Admonition to the People of England." Time was not given by Martin to read this ponderous effusion. It had hardly begun even its limited circulation before a third satire came out, and then a fourth, until there were seven, all of them issued within the short space of as many months. The pen of satire was employed to correct him, but then, as ever, people would laugh at only one side of the disputation. The effort to find out who was the real Martin Marprelate was continued with

desperation. He was wanted for the scaffold. His pamphlets had been printed in first one place, then another; the copy was furnished in scraps, which women aided in printing, and the pamphlets, when ready, were smuggled to the public by being hidden in personal apparel or wrapped in the middle of rolls of leather and delivered by the common carriers. He accomplished his task thoroughly; and his real name, like that of "Junius," still stands under the rose. The publisher was found out to be John Penry, and, while many believed he was the author of the Marprelate tracts, there was lacking just the final evidence needed to hang him for it. The whole controversy was a sign of the times. A great issue was at stake, and there was a conscience underlying the Brownist cause which had spoken out in homely phrase against the crooked and repressive ways of the Church of England in Elizabeth's day. Many people became convinced that there was just ground for complaint, and a broad sympathy was felt for the non-conforming element of English Christians which had not existed before. The wit of Martin had penetrated every part of the British islands, and from that day onward there never struck an hour when the Puritans of England were without friends in every social circle of the land. No man can tell how far the satire of Marprelate, which startled the country in the latter half of 1588 and the former half of 1589, contributed to gain adherents to the Puritan cause through the whole time down to the landing at Plymouth, and, later on, to supply the first emigrants with a steady current of re-enforcement for New England colonization. In all literary history it is not likely that satire has ever played a more important part, and worked farther into the future, than did these grotesque black-letter pamphlets of the first Brownist generation.

We now come to the most important step in this whole period of early Congregational history—the flight to Holland.

England was no place for these radicals. There was no safety for them in the north, and still less in the south. Public martyrdoms were not preferred by Queen Bess' churchly overseers, but if nothing less, or else, would do, then by all means the block and the fagot must be invoked. The favorite mode of serving death to the average Separatist was to let him lie in prison until he was forgotten, and to be kept there until he

died. Only the rare criminals were put to death in the old, gross style. Of course there was every reason why they should be executed, or, as blunt John Weaver put it:

"The Welchman is hanged,
Who at one Kirk flanged,
And at her state banded,
And hewed are his buks.
And though he be hanged,
Yet he is not wranged;
The de'il has him fanged
In his kruked kluks."

Dennis, Copping, and many others, were executed without much delay. Fifty-two of these Separatist Protestants were parceled out for personal labor to forty-three clergymen of the Establishment. Pity that there were not at least two apiece for the surpliced gentry! Fifty-nine were known to die in prison within a very short time. But, with all possible opposition, a Brownist congregation was organized in London. Its life was precarious and feeble. It was not safe an hour. The leaders felt this, and began to think of the best way of getting out of the country. Holland was the nearest Protestant shore, and so the Brownists in Lincolnshire and elsewhere began to betake themselves thither. The congregation which was organized in London in 1592 broke up the following year. Some went at first to the obscure places in the Netherlands, such as Campen and Naarden, but they soon gained courage, and settled in Amsterdam, with Henry Ainsworth as their teacher. Controversies arose among them, but there was a general growth, and always a wonderful literary activity. These Separatists were full of the literary spirit from the very beginning, and wherever they went they sharpened their pens and went to writing treatises on Church government, biblical interpretations, and doctrines of faith. When once in Holland they were not watched, and they sent back their books to England with amazing industry. The wonder was how they managed to get money enough to print and publish. When James I. ascended the throne it was hoped the Separatists might breathe more freely. But here they were mistaken. There was as little hope as ever, and the Amsterdam Society was re-enforced by the best Brownist blood, John Robinson and his company, from

Scrooby. After a time Robinson and his associates left for Leyden, and there formed a Church, which became progressive and united, and developed into the Plymouth Colony.

The strongest and best-balanced mind produced by the whole Brownist protest was this same John Robinson. He was clear in his convictions, skillful in management of men, and far-seeing of dangers that lie in any State-Church system. Of his birthplace, childhood, and youth but little is known. He studied at Cambridge, the only English university where there was any freedom of thought, and while there he came under the influence of Perkins, and formed such opinions of ecclesiastical and personal independence as gave character to his whole life. He preached near and in Norwich four years as a clergyman of the Church of England. But there was a silent protest in his soul all the time. He was stung by a sense of bondage. He went to Gainesborough, separated from the Establishment, and united with the feeble Separatist Society in that place. He afterward went to Scrooby, became pastor of the little Church there, and in a short time he and his flock emigrated to Leyden. At that time Leyden was the Dutch center of learning. It was the Athens of the North.

Robinson, in addition to his duties as pastor, matriculated, busied himself in the great library, soon became involved in the controversies of the hour, and entered the lists against the Arminians. He had been so hardly dealt with by human sovereignty that he took refuge in an extreme emphasis on the doctrine of divine sovereignty. The excitements of the Synod of Dort took firm hold on him, and, while he had felt the sting of persecution in England, and the very presence of himself and his Church in Holland was a proof of the crime of persecution, he failed to see that the persecution of the Dutch Arminians by their enemies was as sinful and unjustifiable as the persecution of the Separatists by Elizabeth and James. He defended the conclusions of Dort as the final grasping and grouping of the truth, the one point beyond which it was impossible for theology to make any further progress. His Church grew to a membership of three hundred, and far surpassed the parent congregation of English Separatists in Amsterdam.

But John Robinson and Elder Brewster could see that Holland was not the proper place for a permanent home for

English protesting Christians. Their families could not grow into firm and progressive citizenship. They entered into correspondence with James I., asking permission to return to England. But that ruler was not willing to renew his acquaintance with them, and a portion of them resolved to try their fortunes in the New World. It was a sad hour when that company of brave spirits stood on the quay at Delftshaven, a part to cross the sea and a part to remain, their pastor among them, to welcome home again the outgoers should they be driven back by any force whatever. Those who remained behind were as willing to be the emigrants as any others. It was a mutual arrangement for the common good. Robinson had been the guide of the little group in Leyden, and was now their inspiration as they left him on the dyke:

"The pastor spoke, and thus he said:

"Men, brethren, sisters, children dear,
God calls you hence from sea;
Ye may not build by Haarlem Meer,
Nor yet along the Zuyder Zee.

"Ye go to bear the saving word
To tribes unnamed, and shores untrod;
Heed well the lessons ye have heard
From those old teachers taught of God.

"Yet think not unto them was lent
All light for all the coming days,
And Heaven's eternal wisdom spent
In making straight the ancient ways.

"The living fountain overflows
For every flock, for every lamb;
Nor heeds, though angry creeds oppose
With Luther's dyke, or Calvin's dam."

Robinson continued to be the shepherd of the fragment of his flock. He had some domestic afflictions, and in five years his weary body was laid away in the crypt of St. Peter's Church. He had been a devout Christian, and had spent his life for his cause. His theological writings were numerous. His opinions harmonized in the main with Browne, though in learning and method of statement he was far in advance of that pioneer in Separatism. His definition of a Church was more reverential, but not more elastic, than Dr. Leonard Bacon's definition of Congregationalism: "Let every man do as he pleases, and if he

wont do it, make him." Robinson says that a Church is "a company, consisting though but of two or three, separated from the world, either Christian or unchristian, and gathered into the name of Christ by a covenant made to walk in all the ways of God known unto them, and so hath the whole power of Christ."

On the personal duty of separating from a fallen Church, such as he claims the Establishment to be, he says: "But this I hold, that if iniquity be committed in the Church, and complaint and proof accordingly made, and that the Church will not reform, or reject the party opposing, but will, on the contrary, maintain presumptuously, and abet such impiety, that then, by abetting that party and his sin, she makes it her own by imputation, and enwraps herself in the same guilt with the sinner. And remaining irreformable, either by such members of the same Church as are faithful, (if there be any,) or by other sister Churches, wipeth herself out the Lord's Church-roll, and now ceaseth to be any longer the true Church of Christ. And whatsoever truths or ordinances of Christ this rebellious rout still retains, it but usurps the same, without right unto them, or possession of blessing upon them, both the persons and sacrifices are abominable unto the Lord."

But Robinson was willing to admit the non-separating to communion with him and his fellow-believers: "He who prefers a separation from the English, national, provincial, diocesan, and parochial Church, and Churches, in the whole form, state, and order thereof, may, notwithstanding, lawfully communicate in private prayer and other the like holy exercises, (not performed in their Church communion, nor by their Church power and ministry) with the godly among them, though the said godly are remaining, of infirmity, members of the same Church, or Churches, except some other extraordinary bar come in the way between them and us."

These declarations of Robinson entered into the substance of the Congregationalism of the future. Their spirit came with the Pilgrims to Plymouth, and has not left their posterity. Tenacity of opposition to formalism and proscription on the one hand, and a readiness for fraternization with all evangelical believers on the other, are very discernible in the general history of that Church. Now and then there have been exceptions, and notably in certain darker hours in the colonial period; but in the

main there has been a fair equilibrium between law and liberty in the Congregational structure.

It was a very serious question, and one likely to have an important bearing upon the whole religious development of this Western Continent: Would the successors of the first Pilgrims be of like creed and spirit with the men of the "Mayflower?" Robinson might be regarded as a very wise Church teacher, and yet there was danger that the blasts of winter, and all the hardships that came of the new life in the wilderness, might heal this Separatist ailment, and thrust those adventurous spirits back to the embrace of the Mother Church. It was not unlikely that the little divisions which cropped out in Holland might be repeated in the New World, and that the Pilgrims might lose their sense of united independence in the warmer passion of self-assertion. The "Mayflower" needed other vessels to follow in her crooked and tedious wake. The men who scrambled ashore from her deck over the icy rocks of Garnet Point would soon be lost in the forest if there were no brothers to come later into near companionship with them. And when new reinforcements might arrive, was it likely that, coming as they would from England, and not from Robinson's teachings in Holland, there could be harmony in ecclesiastical rule?

Let us see what took place. The first ten years of the Pilgrims produced but five new Congregational Churches; the first twenty years, only thirty-five. During the first nine years of their stay there was complete homogeneousness; but in 1629, when a new band arrived at Salem, there appeared the first sign of diversity. The Salem people were Non-conformists, but at the same time were not Separatists, like the Leyden Brownists and Robinsonians. They were drawn to Plymouth rather than to the James River region because they had no sympathy with the Church of England. Yet they frowned not a little on the emigrants from Leyden, and evidently had but little desire to follow in the footsteps of such a feeble folk. Higginson thus expressed the position of his Salem company as related to their predecessors at Plymouth: "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon; farewell, Rome!' But we will say, 'Farewell, dear England; farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there!'" We do not go to

New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it. But we go to practice the primitive part of Church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America." There was no little side-glancing between the Salem and the Plymouth colonists. Each looked with doubt upon the other, and yet each felt that they had more interests in common than otherwise. An incident brought them into brotherly relations. The Salem men were suffering from scurvy, and, sending over to Plymouth for a physician, Dr. Samuel Fuller was deputed to attend them. Fuller had been a Leyden deacon, and, through his representations, Endicott was led to say of the Plymouth colonists, that their position as a Church was "far from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particuliar." So, when the Salem company organized themselves into a Church, and elected and ordained their pastor, Plymouth sent Governor Bradford and others as delegates, who gave the new Church the right hand of fellowship.

There was a recognition of pleasant relations, but there was a doubt as to the future. The Plymouth men had the right. They called themselves "Separatists," because that is just what they were. The Salem men were also Separatists, but they were not willing to acknowledge it. They did not like the Brownist odium, and were unwilling to fraternize with the men who called Browne their spiritual father. These two classes of protesting Christians, both of whom were represented in the very first decade of the colonization of New England, are types of all the later generations of Dissenters from the English Establishment. One class have always been decided, and have been ready to acknowledge their divergence total and final. The other have been decided in conviction, and yet have looked with no little longing for a probable return to the State Church. They have been in the wilderness, but could not forget the flesh-pots of Egypt. They have now and then been willing to pay tithes, and submit to the University Tests, and hoped that the future would bring about perfect equality. Far nobler and stronger have those been who recognized their own independence, and were willing to say a long farewell to the Church from which they had departed. History has pronounced its verdict on the trimming Church, and it is this.

Whenever a Church halts between its convictions and its first fold, it deserves to lose public confidence and support. Reason enough: Only the positive and candid can attract.

The later comers to New England, such as Winthrop in 1630, were of the Salem type; but it is interesting to note that the name "Separatist" gradually disappeared, because the antipodal force did not exist in New England as yet. In due time those who repudiated fellowship with the Brownist and Robinsonian Dissenters forgot their grievances, and became absorbed in the general Congregational life. Plymouth led. She had a right to do it. She had seen farther into the future than any others, and was on her pilgrimage to the broad, clear light of the better days. To her belongs all honor for a steady grasp of the right.

But we are now confronted with the great historical objection to the first civil test made in New England on a religious basis. In 1631 the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony declared who should be members of its body politic in these words: "No man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of the same." Carpers and freethinkers, who have called themselves historians, have, for two centuries, been finding fault with this condition of colonial citizenship. They have called it fanatical and intolerant, and have held it up to public scorn. The German critics, who have never understood American Church life, and of whom there is little hope that they ever will, until an evangelical faith prevails in Germany as it does in the United States, have never wearied of stigmatizing it as a piece of oppressive legislation. What wrong, we reply, in making Church membership a condition of participation in civil rule? The colonists were a religious people; they were a Church, or, rather, a group of Churches, *ecclesiæ in ecclesia*. They had the right, as they passed over into the civil stage of their career, to see that this civil life did not become secularized by worldly and unworthy camp-followers. It ill becomes writers who were born in the State-Church system, and whose infancy and youth have been spent in the same bondage, and whose maturity has been employed in feeding at its crib, while they have maligned the very doctrines that have created our Christian civilization, to take

offense at a necessary precautionary measure for the exercise of the very rights which our fathers crossed the sea to secure? Away with this indignation at the strong position which the colonists took to give a Christian character to their incipient civil polity! The time will come when this abuse of the New England heroes will pass away. It does not help the matter to add the charge of belief in witches, and other abnormalities. The colonial superstitions are largely the creation of a later day, and were propagated chiefly by Church-of-England writers, who came over to New England so late that they found the ground occupied by stronger minds, and took in hand the poor revenge of representing the northern colonies as far gone in wild beliefs.

The first Congregationalists had to feel their way carefully toward an order of Church service, for, through fear of falling into footsteps of the ritualism which had been a large factor in driving them from the Establishment, they leaned too far the other way. Their usages in Holland could hardly be adopted now, for in that country the Church life was necessarily that of small, dispersed congregations, in the midst of a strange language and of those strong, overshadowing Protestant Churches which had received them as brotherly guests. But the colonists had to regulate for the future, and without such examples of dissenting service in England as could give them best aid for organization in their new home.

One will smile a little as he goes over their arrangements for worship. These were primitive enough, but we must remember that all their work was initial, and the wonder is that they succeeded as well as they did. Sabbath morning service began at nine o'clock. In Boston, where advancement was most rapid, the people were called together by the ringing of a bell, but usually the congregation received notice of the time of worship by the beating of a drum, the blowing of a shell or horn, or the hoisting of a flag. In West Springfield the drum was used until 1743. In South Hadley, in 1749, a conch-shell was procured for calling the people together for worship, and John Lane was paid for blowing it. In 1759 Montague paid thirty shillings (English) for a conch-shell, and twenty shillings for blowing it for a year. In 1652 the Haverhill Church employed Abraham Tyler to "blow his horn in the most conven-

ient place every Lord's day, about half an hour before the meeting begins, and also on lecture days ; for the which he is to have one peck of corn from every family for the year ensuing." In 1720 the Sunderland Church voted twenty shillings for sweeping the meeting-house and "tending the flag" at all public meetings the year ensuing. The pastor opened the meeting with prayer lasting about a quarter of an hour, after which the teacher read and expounded a chapter of the Bible. Then one of the ruling elders lined off a psalm, which was sung by the congregation. The pastor then preached, after which the teacher concluded with prayer and the blessing. The services were sometimes very protracted. One hearer reports that he stayed so long that the hour-glass was turned up twice ; while Rev. Mr. Syms, on the occasion of the formation of the Woburn Church, continued "in preaching and prayer about the space of four or five hours." The Lord's supper was usually administered once a month, at the close of the reading service. Lechford thus reports the order :

Then one of the teaching elders prayes before, and blesseth, and consecrates the bread and wine, according to the words of institution ; the other prayes after the receiving of all the members, and next communion they change turnes ; he that began at the end, ends at this ; and the ministers deliver the bread in a charger to some of the chiefs, and peradventure give to a few the bread in their hands, and they deliver the charger from one to another, till all have eaten ; in like manner the cup, till all have drank, goes from one to another. Then a psalme is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed.

The most scrupulous arrangements were made for the seating of the congregation. The ruling elders sat in front of the pulpit, though a little lower down ; the deacons sat on a still lower seat, all facing the congregation. The men sat on one side of the church, and the women on the other. But there was a certain order of civil and social dignity, which was changed from year to year, according to the changes in the dignity of the auditors. The children were placed by themselves, under the care of a tithing man. The Church was supported by voluntary gifts handed in at the public service. Lechford thus describes the method of receiving these contributions :

The magistrates and chief gentlemen first, and then the elders, and all the congregation of men and women in the absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or papers; and if it bee any other chattel, they set it or lay it downe before the deacons, and so passe another way to their seates again. This contribution is of money, or papers promising so much money. I have seen a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the communion. Which money and goods the deacons disburse towards the maintenance of the ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Church occasions, without making account, ordinarily.

The full details of all these arrangements for public service, the growth of the thanksgiving occasion, and especially the relative functions of the various Church officers, are given by Dr. Dexter with great fullness. His utilization of Felt, Palfrey, and other historians of the New England Church, is admirable, while his gleaning from those excellent local histories of New England towns and Churches, which are our best treasury for the genesis of the Congregational Church in this country, is thorough and fair. Not only to his text must we commend the reader for such detailed information of this character as we can find nowhere else in a single volume, but to his rich and full annotations, which have, without question, cost him more time and exhaustive labor than the body of his work.

The later history of Congregationalism is more familiar to the general student than the complicated and disturbed beginnings which have thus far occupied our attention. With all the freedom which the Pilgrims and their early successors enjoyed to develop their ecclesiastical life, the future brought its dark clouds of doctrinal differences. We refer to the Half-way Covenant. Away back in Leyden lay the germ of the great Congregational rupture of the eighteenth century. Because of small numbers and little growth this element of division could not assert itself. But, later on, when the Congregational territory was vastly broadened, there came the necessity for dealing with it. Shall unregenerate persons be granted access to the Lord's supper?—this was the fundamental question which Congregationalism was now compelled to confront. In Connecticut there was a strong party which favored the admittance of all persons of regular life to full communion in the Churches.

Men who contributed to the support of the Gospel, and yet had no voice in calling the pastor, and were denied "the honors and privileges of Church membership for themselves and baptism for their children," protested against this severe condition. The Connecticut magistrates called a council, and the Massachusetts Court, desiring the co-operation of the Confederate Colonies, afterward ordered a council of thirteen of its own ruling elders. Connecticut was suspicious of results, but sent a limited representation. The meeting took place in Boston, in 1657, and concluded that it was the duty of adults who had been baptized when children, "though not yet fit for the Lord's supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents by entering therein in their own persons;" and that in case such parents "understand the grounds of religion, and are not scandalous, and solemnly own the *covenant* in their own person," there can be no sufficient cause to deny baptism to their children.

This action, instead of promoting peace, made the breach wider. Accordingly a Synod was called in Massachusetts, which met in 1662, and reached the conclusion allowing "baptized persons of moral life and orthodox belief to belong to the Church so far as to receive baptism for their children, and all privileges but that of the Lord's supper." The Connecticut Church, with Channing, Davenport, and others at its head, stubbornly opposed this resolution. They claimed that such a difference in Church membership was only technical, and that the granting of the privileges of membership to any but regenerate persons would fill the Church with a worldly and unsafe element. The Boston people adopted a strategic measure. When John Wilson, pastor of the First Church, died, in 1667, John Davenport, the champion of Connecticut orthodoxy, was invited to succeed him. Twenty-eight male members seceded, and formed the historic "Old South" Church. But this incident did not arrest the Half-way Covenant in Boston and other parts of New England north and east of Connecticut. In fact, it gained strength in the latter colony also, after the first generation of opposers had passed away. In 1700 the action of the Massachusetts Synod received its completion in the theory of Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, that "the Lord's supper is constituted to be a means of regeneration," and that men

"may, and ought to, come to it, though they know themselves to be in a natural condition." Here was consistency, at least. Many of the younger men adopted Stoddard's lax view, and this became the prevailing tendency of the Churches. The new liberty in the admission of members brought wealth and social position, but also a decided moral decline. Increase Mather called it an apostasy, and made the following prophecy: "If the begun apostasy should proceed as fast the next thirty years as it has done these last, surely it will come to that in New England (except the Gospel itself depart with the order of it) that the most conscientious people therein will think themselves concerned to gather Churches out of Churches." The elders of the Massachusetts Colony called a Synod in September, 1679, to take into consideration the best methods to avert the numerous calamities that were now multiplying on sea and land, which, as the more pious believed, were judgments inflicted for the growing irreligiousness of the people. Dr. Dexter names some of these divine visitations:

A French and Indian war; the old Charter gone; Governor Andros come, and a Church of England service forcibly intruded into the South meeting-house; privateers infesting the coast; fires, hurricanes, very extraordinary hail-storms, floods whose violence damaged the channels of rivers; ministers' houses struck with lightning; news of a tremendous earthquake swallowing two thousand victims, followed by a pestilence sweeping away three thousand more, in Jamaica; the small-pox raging in New Hampshire, and again in the Carolinas; great losses of cattle; a scarcity of food, bringing the price of food up to the highest price ever known; the coldest weather in the winter since the country was settled; and the heavy cloud of the witchcraft delusion settling like a pall over some of the best places and best people of Massachusetts.

The Synod, interpreting these calamities as judgments, enumerated thirteen classes of sins that had invoked them, and recommended twelve classes of duties as a means of averting them. Of the result, says Dr. Dexter again:

This action of the Synod produced a good effect. Faithful ministers were much strengthened by it in laboring with their people, and devout Christians provoked to a more earnest piety. Many Churches made solemn renewal of their covenant with God. And the other Colonies, particularly those of Plymouth and Connecticut, to a considerable extent followed the lead of Massachusetts.

There was not sufficient reformation, however, in either Massachusetts or Connecticut to satisfy the more spiritual members of the Congregational Church. Hence, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, two efforts were made in favor of a stricter life—one in Massachusetts in 1705, and the other in Connecticut in 1708. The Synod of the latter, consisting of twelve ministers and four laymen, assembled in Saybrook, and adopted fifteen articles. The Boston Association, which had met in 1705, adopted certain proposals, which were regarded as too strongly Presbyterian for the body of Congregationalists. Both these conventions had less bearing on the religious life of the people than on the polity of the Church, and there was no positive and wide-spread spiritual revival until the Great Awakening, under Whitefield and his co-adjutors, in 1734-1742. Dr. Dexter thus summarizes the efforts of that remarkable revival: "It had a twofold influence. It added from forty to fifty thousand members to the Churches of New England; struck a death-blow at the Half-way Covenant, and its introduction of unconverted men to the communion table, if not to the pulpit; gave a mighty impulse to Christian education; re-invigorated Christian missions, and founded the Monthly Concert for the conversion of the world."

The great division of the Congregational Church by the Unitarian movement—a subject too extensive for treatment here—was a catastrophe such as few Churches have had to suffer, and constitutes a distinct chapter in our American ecclesiastical history. While the issue was met wisely and calmly, had Congregationalism been possessed of a strong, central, and connectional power, it is not likely that the rupture would have been as broad as it was. A Church government with less latitude to the individual congregation, has great advantage over any other when schismatic forces threaten the doctrinal structure. The separate Churches are then in large measure within the control of the whole governing system, and Church property does not become alienated by the doctrinal vagaries of few or many congregations.

The recent history of Congregationalism, both in the United States and England, abounds in proof of a thorough comprehension of the vital questions of the times and a capacity and courage in meeting them. Its missionary spirit is worthy of all

praise. One has only to observe the work it is now doing for the evangelization of the newer parts of our country to be convinced that the spirit of the Pilgrims has not left their descendants. Where would Kansas be to-day, but for its rescue from the grasp of the slave-holder by the Congregational sons of New England? And the wrong of Kansas was the one thing which opened the eyes of the nation to the magnitude of the crime of slavery, and its ready daring to occupy all our new fields.

In the study of ecclesiastical history one has frequent reminders of a certain parallelism that seems to pervade whole periods and embrace large religious bodies. The humble beginnings of Congregationalism and Methodism furnish us a beautiful illustration of this principle. They began within a few miles of each other, in Eastern England. The whole of that part of England where these two bodies arose has furnished the land with the most of its brains and heroism from the time when it first emerged from its Druid darkness down to the present time. The German, Danish, and Norwegian elements occupied it, and they carried on savage strife for many a century. By and by, though the Norman became ruler, this eastern shore of England was always fond of its old liberty, and knew when to strike its blows for independence. Cambridge became its school of advanced thinking and warm feeling. All the first teachers of Brownism, with Browne at the head, were Cambridge students. The first immigrant preachers of the Congregational Church here had breathed the free air of Cambridge, and were ready for the fight for freedom here. The old Norse spirit has never left the flats around Cambridge and Ely; and while Cardinal Wolsey was founding his new college at Oxford, and having his kitchen big enough for cooking whole oxen at once, on which his courtiers might fatten, the Cambridge students were living on scanty commons, and meditating what next to do, and where next to go for a larger breathing-place.

The wonder is that John Wesley did not go to Cambridge. Not all his family were Tories, but there was just enough of the Whig and the Liberal element in it to save him from absorption by it. Though his father did send him to Oxford, he never got rid of his eastern Viking blood, and when he was through with Tory Oxford, his liberal spirit asserted itself, and

he made the world his parish and posterity his friend. Methodism started from the humble Epworth rectory. But just a little way from it there had gone one day a little vessel that struck straight for the Dutch coast. This place was humble Serooby, and the Brownists were on their way to Leyden. Epworth and Serooby! Two little towns still, and never to be much larger, they have sent out currents that will never be stayed. They have done their work well in plowing deep channels for the great waters of the future. Not many stood at the dock to see the Brownists leave home, and, later, John Wesley was compelled to make a pulpit of his father's tombstone. But what of that? Those were only such unfriendly incidents as were needed to bring the steel of great souls into vigorous play. There was no seer at hand to tell what should be the influence of two Epworth boys on the world, the one in its song and the other in its soul; nor, over a century earlier, in 1607, to tell what was the true weight of William Brewster, John Robinson, and the rest of the passenger list in the Serooby boat for Holland. But the liberty and evangelization of the western hemisphere were to be wrought out by these feeble initiatives. The heroes of both Serooby and Epworth may not have had any clear thought as to what should be the issue of their work, but we suspect that, away down in the deep calms of their faith, there was an expectation that great results would come to distant lands from the labors to which they were impelled by the persecution of the unloving Church of England.

The part that Holland took in the Congregational and Methodist movements gives us another picture of the unconscious parallels of historical sequence. No Protestant battle was more bravely fought than that of Holland against Spain and her cruel Alva. When freedom came that little land spread her wings of commerce over every sea, and welcomed to her dykes the oppressed of all countries. Arminius taught in Leyden the theology that produced the Methodism of the later day, and the name Leyden warmed the chilled colony from Serooby for their long voyage across the Atlantic and their long battle for freedom in this new land. Did not humble Leyden do her work well? Little did her people dream, as Arminius and Episcopus walked along her sleepy canals and crossed her curious bridges to their lecture rooms, that the

words spoken there would reverberate through all coming times; and they thought as little, too, that the Brownist guests from Scrooby were destined to be pioneers for freedom in Church and State throughout new America. But these parallels will never cease. God has his own way of leading his trusting children into the upward pathways, and those children cannot afford to forget that no mountain of sin is safe in its place if their faith be as the grain of mustard seed.

ART. VI.—HERMANN LOTZE.

IN Germany Hegelianism is out of fashion. In England, Italy, and America a few thinkers, tired of their intellectual nakedness, and unable to weave a philosophical robe of their own, have seized upon and donned the cast-off garments of the Germans, and now parade the streets and by-ways of philosophy with all the peculiar Hegelian complacency and arrogance. The Germans enjoy the spectacle, and occasionally remark that foreign countries are fifty years behind Germany in their thought-development. The grains of truth in this quiet hint are just numerous enough to make it incisive and biting. To trace the causes of the fall of the great philosophical system that dominated German thought for the greater part of the first half of the century is not our purpose. Apart from its rotten foundations and paper buttresses, which eventually would have made it a mass of ruins, it had a vigorous and implacable enemy. Against pantheistic idealism, the blind worship of logical forms, the factitious deduction of the world with its varied life out of the necessary development of the Infinite idea—against Hegelianism in all its phases—stood the great Herbart. During his life his followers were comparatively few; but in the softer light of to-day he is seen to be, after Kant, the noblest figure in German philosophy. Says Wundt, the Leipzig professor, "Next to Kant I am most indebted to Herbart for the constructions of my own philosophical opinions."* In a word, almost every department of the systematical philosophy of the Germany of to-day has its roots in him.

* "*Physiologische Psychologie.*" Introduction.

Among those who have had their starting-point in Herbart's system, no one is more prominent than Hermann Lotze. He was born in Bautzen in 1817. At the early age of twenty-two he had taken his degrees in medicine and philosophy, and was acting as privat-docent in both of these departments in the University of Leipsic. At twenty-four he published his "*Metaphysik*;" at twenty-five his "*Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie*," and three articles in Wagner's "*Handwörterbuch der Physiologie*;" at twenty-six his "*Logik*;" at thirty-four his "*Physiologie des Körperlichen Lebens*;" and at thirty-five his "*Medicinische Psychologie*. In these works of his earlier life we find the leading principles of his philosophy. Like Berkeley, Hume, and Schopenhaur, his development was rapid, and in his younger days the circle was described in which his thought was afterward to move. The most important of his publications in recent years have been "*Mikrokosmos*," "*Geschichte der Aesthetik*," "*Logik*," and "*Metaphysik*." The "*Mikrokosmos*," now in its third edition, is a compendium of his system, and contains, in a somewhat popular form, his opinions on psychology, metaphysics, religion, ethics, æsthetics, and history. Though not the profoundest, it is the richest of the works, and its influence has made itself felt outside of the limits of the philosophic schools.

Lotze's life, like that of Kant, has been uneventful. He came to the little and quaint old university city of Göttingen as professor of philosophy in 1844, and has remained there ever since, declining recently a call to the great University of Berlin.* In the suburbs he has an old-fashioned house in the midst of a large garden, and in the fresh air of the fields and the thick shade of his trees he leads the ideal life of the philosopher.

In the short space of a review article an exposition of the entire system of Lotze would be impossible; and we propose to confine ourselves to a more or less coherent exposition of his "Philosophy of Religion," borrowing from his metaphysics what is necessary for completeness, and sketching his discussion of one or two questions that are now of special interest to the religious world.

* Since the above was written, Lotze has finally been induced to accept a professorship of philosophy in the University of Berlin.

In the logic of John Stuart Mill, where he is speaking of the "distribution of the primeval natural agents through the universe," occurs the following remarkable passage: "The utmost disorder is apparent in the combination of the causes which is consistent with the most perfect order in their effect; for when each agent carries on its own operations according to a uniform law, even the most capricious combination of agencies will generate a regularity of some sort, as we see in the kaleidoscope, where any casual arrangement of colored bits of glass produce, by the law of reflection, a beautiful regularity in the effect." In striking contrast is the following extract from Lotze, "Nature cannot be regarded as a kaleidoscope which is shaken by accident and made to produce figures that *appear* as if meaning was in them. If this meaning is to have real meaning, we must deal seriously with our postulate, and maintain the conviction that the same power that establishes in things their mechanical capacities for action, includes directly that form-determining fantasy, which provides these capacities for action with their points of application and assigns to them their significant directions." * In these two passages from Mill and Lotze we have a statement of the two methods of apprehending the cosmos, the casual, and the theological; both of them recognizing the supremacy and universality of laws, but the one attributing their conjunction to chance, the other to a purpose.

But Lotze is a teleologist of a unique type. In the first of his three articles in Wagner's "*Handwörterbuch der Physiologie*," he attacks with trenchant hand the theory of a vital force, and shows that the chemical and physical forces acting upon the organic germs are sufficient to explain the development of all life, and that there are no residual phenomena to be accounted for by an hypothesis of a vital force. This article was received with enthusiasm by the evangelists of necessity, and they welcomed Lotze with open arms. But they forgot, in the first place, that the occasion called for the expression of only one half of his theory, and, in the second place, that he had written in his "*Metaphysik*" that the "true beginning of metaphysics is in ethics;" and so when he began to emphasize the ideal side of life and to vindicate the longings of the *Gemüth*, he was charged with apostasy. How consistent he

* "*Mikrokosmos*," book ii, p. 9.

has been may be seen when he says that a mediation between mechanical necessity and freedom consists in showing "how unexceptionally universal is the extent of mechanism;" but he adds, "and how fully subordinate the mission is that it has to fulfill in the construction of the world." * In this idealization of the mechanical view of nature we have an anticipation of the course of Lotze's philosophy. But only a more detailed examination will show how this mediation between freedom and necessity is to be effected, and how the kaleidoscopic laws of Mill are to be fused into a higher unity. That the objects of the external world act upon each other and upon us is a fact thrust upon the naivest observation; and the mutual action and reaction of the ultimate particles of matter is an equally coercive fact for the scientific mind. But as cogent as is this fact of interaction (*Wechselwirkung*) we are involved in inextricable difficulties when we come to explain it. Consider for a moment the attraction of the earth and the moon. "O that is simple enough!" we are ready to say; "it is effected by the law of gravitation." But we have satisfied ourselves with the husks of delusion instead of the bread of knowledge, for a law is not a power extraneous to the bodies themselves, enforcing its dictates by virtue of its superiority of position, but only a humble formulation of their methods of action. Gravitation is only the general name of a mystery of which the attraction of the earth and moon is a specific case. But, it may be further argued, something goes out from each of the attracting bodies, and effects their interaction. This, however, only shoves the difficulty farther back, for this something must act on the body to which it comes; and thus all the old difficulties again arise. If it be said that a force is radiated, and that it brings about the phenomenon of approach, it is to be replied that the thought is unfruitful, and, when taken as a whole, contradictory. Turn the matter as we may, we can find no explanation of their mutual attraction, and we can do naught better than present ourselves at the confessional stool of philosophy with this frank avowal of our ignorance. "Bodies do work upon each other at a distance, but the *modus operandi* is one of nature's secrets." Transitive action, (*transeunte Wirkung*.) then, is a fact to be accepted without explanation.

* "*Mikrokosmos*." Introduction, p. 15.

But when we consider immanent action, (*immanente Wirkung*), that is, the interaction between the parts of one and the same body, we are involved in a similar perplexity. Although the space between two atoms is almost infinitely small, yet the difficulties that encountered us in the thousands of miles between the earth and the moon are not one whit abated by less than microscopic distances. An attribute of one atom cannot go over to the others; for in the space between the two it would be nobody's attribute, which is to affirm and deny in one breath its attributive character. These difficulties in both transitive and immanent actions are not new; but in much of the Cartesian philosophy and in the college philosophy of to-day only one phase of it has been emphasized, the interaction of mind and matter. To explain this phenomenon, one philosopher devised the theory of "occasional causes," and Leibnitz that of "pre-established harmony." But the first did not escape the difficulty, for its very postulate was that matter could affect mind, and mind matter. For it was God, a spirit, who raised the arm, matter, on the occasion of a volition, and who excited a sensation on the occasions of the proper excitation of the nerves. The second was but little more successful. It assumed a primal action of God, a spirit, in the creation of the world of matter, and escaped further interaction only by a rigid and factitious predetermination of every phase of the universe's development. The action of mind on matter, then, is no more of a mystery than the action of matter on matter, and the persistency with which it is thrust forward as a subject demanding a specific explanation is simply an indication of the limitation of our philosophical horizon.

Though immanent action is a mystery, we have no hesitancy in accepting it as a matter-of-fact. All of us have wondered at the attraction of gravitation, and have tried to devise some mechanism by which it could be brought about; but few of us, however, have deemed the phenomenon of cohesion, or the transmission of motions from particle to particle, to be matters urgently demanding an explanation. To repeat our exposition in Lotze's own words:

We regard this immanent action, developing state out of state in one and the same thing, as a fact that calls for no further effort of thought, but, at the same time, we are conscious that this

action in respect to its realization is fully incomprehensible. For how it is that a state m of a thing A proceeds to bring about a resulting state n is not one whit better understood by us than how the same state m proceeds to produce the state x in another thing B . Only the unity of the thing in which this incomprehensible process takes place makes it appear superfluous to ask after conditions of its possibility. We are, therefore, satisfied with immanent action not because we understand its genesis, but because we are aware of no hinderance to an unquestioned recognition of it as a given fact; for the different states of a subject must, we think, necessarily have an influence over each other. And, indeed, if we do not follow this fundamental thought, there will remain to us no means of finding an explanation for any event.*

In this aspect of immanent action, then, we find a hint that enables us not indeed to elucidate transitive action, but to illustrate it. Only where unity is, where each part is linked with the other, and where all together form one coherent whole, do we find that our faculties adapt themselves to the phenomenon of interaction. We must then cease to regard the world as made up of distinct elements, and begin to see in it a vital unity. This unity, indeed, is no working hypothesis, but is forced upon us by the very fact of interaction; for if bodies were entirely independent of each other, if each failed absolutely to influence the other, if each existed, as it were, in a world for itself, then all possibility of mutual action would be at an end, and life, growth, development, would be myths. The abyss that exists between separate bodies must be bridged, and this can be done only by making them part of the same organic whole. "The plurality of our cosmic theory must give place to a monism by which the ever-incomprehensible transitive action goes over into an immanent action."† At this critical point of Lotze's philosophy we deem it best to supplement our exposition by his own words. It is a point to which he himself more than once returns, and in our hands it cannot suffer by a partial repetition of its content:

Not the empty shade of a course of nature, but the full reality of an infinite living being, whose innerly cherished parts form all finite things, can so bind together the manifoldness of the world that the interactions reach over the abysses which would eternally separate the individual elements from each other. For

* "*Metaphysik*," p. 96.

† *Ibid.*, p. 137.

an action going out from the one is not lost in the nothingness that lies between it and the other, but as in all being (*Sein*) the really existing (*das wahrhaft Seiende*) remains one and the same, so the infinite reality (*Wesen*) works in all interaction only upon himself, and his energy never leaves the enduring basis of being. That which is active in one part is not shut up in itself and unknown to all others; nor does the individual state (*Zustand*) have to pass over an illimitable way in order to seek another element to whom it may communicate itself; nor, in fine, does it have to exert a power that is likewise incomprehensible in order to compel this indifferent second element to participate in its nature. Every excitation of a single thing is at the same time an excitation of the entire infinite in which it finds the living basis of its being; and thus each element is able to transmit its action to another having likewise the same basis. The infinite it is that through the unity of his nature causes the finite event here to be followed by its effect there, and no finite thing works upon another by means of its own finite power. On the contrary, each excitation of the individual thing moving the external basis that is the reality behind the shadow of all finite, is able to transmit its action to that which is apparently removed only through this continuity of their community of being.*

But this infinite being, that lies at the basis of the finite, plays a more important role than that of rendering possible the mutual action of the elements of the world. It is the "infinite substance," the "unifying being," the "one reality," in which all finite things are comprised as "modifications," "parts," "states," or "appearances." It assigns to every atom its sphere of action and the nature of its energy, and to every cause the amount and character of its effect. In all its varied changes it preserves its unity and adjusts a disturbance in one part by compensation in another. It is one and indivisible and all in all. We are approaching in this "infinite being" our conception of God; but it yet lacks many of the essential attributes; the chief among them being personality. Lotze passes in review the various arguments for the existence of God, and finds with Kant that they all fall short of their purpose. The teleological argument has, perhaps, the most claim to our consideration, but a candid examination of it discloses defects. "By seeking ye cannot find out God," was said long ago by the inspired seer, and Lotze but iterates the content of this thought in his denial of the worth of ratiocination as a means of estab-

* "*Mikrokosmos*," vol. i.

lishing the existence of God. It has pleased him to revive the ontological argument, but in a form in which the original is scarcely recognizable. That alone is greatest which has a real existence. If our ideals, then, are to attain their full width, they must be more than mere thought. Now "we cannot prove, but only experience, that a beautiful something is beautiful," and so we cannot demonstrate, but only feel, that our idea of the one true, the one good, and the one beautiful, has its counterpart in reality. Immediately and without syllogistic confirmation we realize that "it is surely impossible that the greatest of all thinkable things does not exist." In this dictate of the feelings, then, we find that personality which was heretofore lacking to the infinite being of our reason. In taking the sum total of Lotze's argument for the existence of God, we find a marked similarity between his aim and that of Descartes in his second great argument; as both attempt to show, but by different argumentation, that the conservation of the world in each successive moment is possible only under the postulate of an infinite Being.

The asserted barrenness of philosophical research has served so often certain popular writers and orators of the "hard-fact" school with subject-matter for telling witticisms that it would be willful cruelty to show that philosophy has produced valuable and enduring results. Just here it is to our purpose to emphasize only this fact, the persistency with which philosophy throws up new problems for consideration. Until the time of Kant most philosophers regarded time and space as purely objective, and few questions were asked and answered concerning them. It is not one of the least of the many merits of Kant that he subjected these two intuitions or concepts to a rigid analysis, and showed many of the difficulties that arise from a postulation of their objective existence. This analysis was epochal in the history of philosophy. In the post-Kantian idealism space was reduced to a species of garment in which the infinite Idea revealed himself, and in the Herbartian realism it was held as a mere projection of the mind in the spaceless world, and thus entitled to only a subjective existence. The thought has fermented in the minds of all the post-Kantian philosophers, and has given rise to some peculiarly valuable and interesting psychological results. Lotze maintains the sub-

jectivity of space. Until somewhat recently he held also the subjectivity of time, but in his last work he expressly says that time must be given a certain degree of objectivity if the apparent succession of phenomena is to be explained. Deprived of all space-relations our hard and material world loses much of its hardness and materiality, and becomes what the Germans and French are pleased to call an *intelligible* world. But between it and the world of space—and here Herbart and Lotze diverge radically from Kant—there is an exact correspondence. A change of an element in the space world is represented by a change in the spaceless world; a motion of a body in the space world by the equivalent of a motion in the spaceless world. Indeed, so exact is this correspondence that the ratios in which different bodies stand to each other in the space world obtain likewise in the spaceless world. To illustrate that which is only thinkable and not conceivable, we may say that the space world is represented by the hands of a watch and the spaceless world by the hidden works. Every motion of the hands is represented by a motion of the works, and the ratios of the distances passed over by the hands are the same as the ratios of the corresponding motions of the wheels. But the illustration falls short. What is not amenable to illustration cannot be illustratively expressed.

Pushing our inquiries further back, and asking after the nature of this world behind the phenomenon, of this *noumenon*, we meet with one of the most striking features of the Lotzian philosophy. It maintains hylozoism. The world is not a series of points dead and cold and stiff, but each atom has its own conscious life, its own history, and its own enjoyment. Nature is more than it seems. What to us is a series of insentient particles, contributing only to our pleasure and our life, is, in reality, innumerable beings endowed with all the energy of conscious life. "Every pressure and every tension that matter undergoes, the repose of stable equilibrium and the separation of compounds, all these do not merely occur, but, occurring, are the object of some enjoyment or other."* Our author is not terrified by the consequences of his theory. He calmly meets the objection that it proves too much; that although we can cherish the thought that the flower and the crystal are instinct

* "*Mikrokosmos*," vol. i, p. 400.

with sentient life, yet we revolt when we animate "the dust at our feet, the prosaic texture of our garments, and the material which the technic employs in the manufacture of the most diverse articles. . . . Dust is dust only for him whom it annoys. The indifferent form of the vessel just as little degrades the individual elements of which it is composed as a mean social condition, that represses all expression of intellectual life, annuls the lofty destiny to which these portions of oppressed humanity are called. When we speak of the divine origin and the lofty aims of human souls, we have then far more cause to throw a sorrowful glance upon this dust of the spiritual world, whose life appears to us so unfruitful and whose aim so fully missed." *

Lotze is both prose poet and scientist, and often there is only a step between his poetic inspiration and scientific precision. Albeit that the world is instinct with life, the results of chemistry and physics are in no degree invalidated. Iron delights in a union with oxygen, yet this delight is always expressed under the prosaic form of numerical equivalents; and the magnet finds pleasure in attracting its keeper, yet this pleasure can always be formulated under the unpoetic law of intensity inversely as the square of the distance. This self-consciousness of matter no more interferes with the laws of nature than our enjoyment of physical exercise disturbs the relation between the amount of muscular energy expended and the number of foot-pounds raised. Thus Lotze escapes the trenchant sentence of Kant which Wundt quotes with much approval, "Hylozoism is the death of natural philosophy." †

Hylozoistic doctrines have always been more or less popular in Germany, and, in addition to Lotze, are championed at present by Fechner and Zoellner. The German has a tender love for nature which the Anglo-Saxon mind can only with difficulty understand and appreciate. The flowers, the trees, the streams, the valleys, and the mountains are his friends, and he almost unconsciously invests them with life. This peculiar affection, the poetic feeling, the revolts against unproportion and waste, and the lofty benevolence that lavishes its highest good on all the objects around it, these incentives, more than logical reasons, have led Lotze to attribute conscious life to the

* "*Mikrokosmos*," vol. i, p. 407.

† "*Logik*," p. 584.

material world. Thus are restored to objective nature the beauty, variety, and harmony that an advanced knowledge had deprived her of. Color, sparkle, sound, and odor exist only in the mind of the observer. A dreary monotony, we know not what, reigns supreme in the unperceived world. No light, no sound, no taste, no smell is there. But let a ray of conscious life be attributed to the minute particles of matter, and instantly the ether vibrations transform themselves into the glory of color and the air vibrations into the wealth of sound, although the eye and ear of man and beast be not upon the scene.

We have seen that with Lotze space is subjective and matter sentient; yet the language of this *intelligible* and animated world permits of a translation into the language of every-day life. Just as we say the sun sets—though, in reality, he remains relatively still—so we will still continue to speak of dimensions and distances, of rest and motion, of atoms and molecules, and of matter and mind.

Lotze is, with qualification, a champion of the atomic theory. He finds the ordinary hard atom of science, however, full of contradictions, and replaces it by a point that is the center of in and out-going forces. These atoms cannot be, as we have seen, independent of each other; for interaction is possible only when they are parts of a higher unity. They are potent with energy and spaceless, thus possessing the qualities that partly characterize the Lotzian philosophy. "The phenomenality of space and the inner activity of things, which we have substituted for the changes of external relations as the source of all comings to pass, (*Geschehen*,) are the two points in which we most contradict the ordinary opinions."* On their objective side the chemical elements are irreducible. Attempts have been made to make them all allotropic forms of one basal and typical element, but they retain their peculiarities too tenaciously to justify any hopes of success. On their subjective side they find an organic unity in God. *They are spiritual, not material*. Each one is a thought of God. Each is, as it were, a word with a fixed meaning, and just as words are susceptible of use in various sentences, so the elements are capable of forming many different combinations. The whole material world, then, with its play of color and harmony of

* "*Metaphysik*," p. 425.

sound, is thus resolved into a series of the thoughts of God. The earthly vanishes, the divine assumes its place. But listen to Lotze :

Let us assume, in the first place, that an idea of definite content is so cogitated in God that all the consequences with which it encroaches upon the remaining world of his thought are also at the same time cogitated. And, in the second place, that these thoughts of God are precisely the power which causes the intuition (*"Anschauung"*) of the external world to arise in finite minds. Or otherwise expressed : Let us suppose, in the first place, that a definite energy in the Infinite is so exercised that, in consequence of his unity, all of the other energies are, at the same time, exercised, which must follow from it in accordance with the universal conformity to law of this Infinite power; and, in the second place, that this activity of the Infinite is the operative might which produces in the finite mind a picture of the external world. Under these suppositions, then, these inner acts of the Infinite are, according to the idealistic theory, the real powers, which, operative in the Infinite and calling out and conditioning each other in conformity to law, produce that real result that is perceived secondarily by the individual minds as a world that embraces them and all external things.*

Thus we are brought again into the presence of the thought of the mystic Malebranche and the empiricist Berkeley, that we see all things in God. Many of our readers are ready to assume that our author has long since resolved the *we* into the infinite *One*, and that it is a mere play with words for us to speak of men's seeing the world in God. Write rather, say they, that all is God, and that God, not we, sees all things in himself.

But Lotze is neither pantheist nor panlogist. Both mind and matter are, as we have said, "states," "manifestations," "parts," "modifications" of God; but this is not equivalent to pantheism. Carrière, of the University of Munich, admirably fixes Lotze's place in the future history of philosophy. "Thus Lotze comes to that which I laid down more than thirty years ago as the problem of the present time, the union of the opposing principles of Spinoza and Leibnitz, of Hegel and Herbart, and, consequently, the subjection of pantheism and deism by a fusion of transcendence and immanence."† How Lotze escapes from this apparent logical dilemma, how this "fusion of

* "*Mikrokosmos*," vol. iii, p. 529.

† "*Deutsche Revue*," January, 1880.

transcendence and immanence is impossible," we will let him show us in his own words:

It is true that so long as things are only states (*Zustände*) of the infinite they are nothing in themselves. Something must be won for them; and this evidently is the wish of that insistence on their existence outside of God. But things do not gain this true and genuine reality of being something in themselves, or even of being in themselves, by being placed outside of God; as if this transcendence, whose meaning it would be impossible to state, were the preliminary and formal condition on which existence *per se* (*Fürsichsein*) hung as a result. On the contrary, when something is in itself, when it refers itself to itself, when it comprehends itself as an ego, it thus separates itself from the infinite through its own very nature. It does not thus *acquire*, but *has* that existence out of the Infinite; nor does it fulfill any condition under which full reality, as an act of existence comprised and furnished by something else, first comes to it. Existence *per se*, or egoism,* (*Ichheit*), is the only definition that expresses the essential content and worth of what we from accidental and badly chosen stand-points indicate as reality or independent being outside of God in contradistinction to immanence in God. Who, therefore, looks upon minds as like to things, which, indeed, is necessary, as states, thoughts, in modifications of God or the infinite, yet regards them as not a line serving to transmit from point to point, by means of their connections as links of a chain, the consequences of the nature of the infinite, but as enjoying at the same time by means of a reflex reference what they do and undergo as *their* states and *their* experiences of themselves; he who thus regards the matter, I say, and then still believes himself compelled to assign to these living minds that are immanent in God an existence outside of him, in order that in the fullest sense of the word they may be real, seems to us no longer to know what he wishes, no longer to know that he has long since had the full and entire kernel to which he anxiously seeks the shell.†

This immanence of all things in God is a necessary outcome of Lotze's first principles. As we have seen, no one thing can act upon another in so far as they are parts of the same organic whole; and, consequently, if there is to be communication between the finite mind and the infinite mind it must be by means of the immanence of the finite in the infinite. Mediating between realism and idealism, Lotze can be called an ideal-realist. Pantheism and ideal realism agree in this, that all finite things are states of the Infinite; they differ in this, that

* Of course, in its philosophical signification.

† "*Mikrokosmos*," vol iii, p. 530.

the one denies, the other assigns, them an individuality. Additional significance may be given to the difference when it is emphasized that Lotze is a resolute champion of the freedom of the will.

Tendency-philosophy is somewhat hazardous. Theories that in one generation are used to substantiate a certain phase of thought are employed in the next to support directly its opposite. If Jonathan Edwards could rise up from the tomb and see the motley crowd that swarms around his doctrine of necessity, he would unquestionably probe again into the depths of the will, and not, indeed, with the prepossession that he would bring out determinism. We are reminded of the waggish tricks of "Puck" when we see Mr. Spencer quote with serious mien Sir William Hamilton and Dean Mansell as the great apostles of his favorite theory of agnosticism, and acknowledge himself as a faithful and loving disciple of these masters. Hegel said that he established in his system only those principles that every child learned in its catechism; and yet under his protecting wing nestled Feuerbach, with his coarse materialism, and Bauer, with his radical criticism. Truly it would be going too far to supplement the words of Hamlet, and say, In philosophy "nothing is either good or bad, but thinking makes it so;" yet the results that we have just traced of certain theories are sufficient to show how much depends on the individuality of the thinker, and how dangerous it is in philosophy to denominate a doctrine as unqualifiedly good or unqualifiedly bad.

Weakening thus the unpleasant connotation of the expression "philosophic skepticism," we will show how far it figures in the philosophy of Lotze. As different as John Stuart Mill and Lotze are in their aims and methods, the one theistic, the other positive, yet skepticism plays a not insignificant role in the system of each. A comparison of one or two passages will show how near they can approach each other in this respect. Many of our readers are familiar with this famous passage of Mill:

It must at the same time be remarked that the reasons for this reliance (or the law of causation) do not hold in circumstances unknown to us and beyond the possible range of experience. In distant parts of the stellar regions where the phenomena may be entirely unlike those with which we are acquainted, it would be

folly to affirm confidently that this general law prevails any more than those special ones which we have found to hold universally on our own planet. The uniformity in the succession of events otherwise known as the law of causation, must be received not as a law of the universe, but of that portion of it only which is within the range of our means of sure observation, with a reasonable degree of extensions to adjacent cases. To extend it further is to make a supposition without evidence, and to which, in the absence of any ground from experience for estimating its degree of probability, it would be ridiculous to affect to assign any.*

The passage from Lotze, though not bearing on causation, has a remarkable similarity to the one quoted from Mill, (though written without reference to it,) the coyness of transcending the domain of experience being exhibited equally well in both:

I can by no means consider it as self-evident that the tie of gravitation binds together all existing elements according to the same law, as if they were mere selfless examples of a mass capable of use. We know its validity for the solar system alone, and only for a number of the double stars may the supposition be correct that they are also held in their paths by a like mutual attraction, whose law, indeed, is unknown. But that the same action extends itself from one connected system of elements in space to another also connected is by no means as well proved and as irrefutable as is the homogeneous transmission of the undulations of light. †

Or, again, compare the following passages:

I am convinced that any one accustomed to abstraction and analysis, who will fairly exert his faculties for the purpose, will, when his imagination has once learned to entertain the notion, find no difficulty in conceiving that in some one, for instance, of the many firmaments into which sidereal astronomy now divides the universe, events may succeed one another at random, without any fixed law; nor can any thing in our experience or in our mental nature constitute a sufficient nor indeed any reason for believing that this is nowhere the case. ‡

Says Lotze:

I would be the last to deny the great worth and the indispensableness of the other method of thinking, which, in our mechanics, bases its calculations upon the abstract concept of mass and its constancy, force and its persistence, inertia and the immutability of the elements. . . . But I am the last to ascribe to these theories, which are mere abstractions out of the short sketches

* "Logic," p. 342.

† "Metaphysik," p. 461.

‡ "Logic," p. 338.

of the course of nature accessible to us, that metaphysical truth that would entitle them to decide these questions that transcend all experience. *

This denial of metaphysical validity to the scientific doctrines of the permanence of matter and the persistence of force demands further consideration. To those who are accustomed to regard the external world as composed of hard and material atoms, to a great degree independent of each other, and acting together, as it were, only by courtesy, it is about impossible to conceive the quantity of matter as being either increased or decreased. But to Lotze, who resolves the chemical elements into the thoughts of God, and who regards him not as a fixed quantity, but as a spirit, an intellect, an idea, developing itself in accordance with a definite plan, it is readily conceivable that the number of these thoughts may become greater or smaller, according to the exigences of the development of this fundamental idea—just as our working vocabulary increases or decreases in proportion to the complexity or simplicity of the subject we are elaborating—and this change on its objective side will be an increase or decrease of the quantity of matter. The persistence of force is questioned by a similar process of reason. We are finite, and can catch only vexatious glimpses of the shadowings forth of the Infinite. Cornered off into one little part of the universe, and allotted only an insignificant time for observation, we can readily fail to grasp the true workings of nature. It may be that the universe is like a sense spring, whose force is released by every power which removes the hinderances to its positive and perceptible action. It is true that this supposition is not confirmed by experience, but experience is limited. The universe, then, instead of being a fixed quantity, moving itself within the limits of a determined quantity of force—instead of being, as it were, a simple tone ever monotonously repeating itself—may be regarded as a melody now sinking down to a few simple notes, now bursting forth in all the wealth of a rich and varied harmony.

The position of Lotze toward the question that has excited during the last fifteen or twenty years a feverish interest among all classes cannot fail to be of interest. We can, of course, but refer to the doctrine of evolution. He has never entered into

* "*Metaphysik*," p. 462.

a detailed discussion of it, and our exposition must consequently be brief. He regards the permanence of types as evidence sufficiently strong to refute the theory of Darwin. Basing himself on the persistence with which different races of men maintain their characteristic features, despite the influences of different climates, soils, and methods of life, he argues that no change of environment nor inheritance of variation will justify the conclusion that all life has sprung from a few primal germs. He believes in different centers of creation, and his position leads him to assume separate creative acts for the different races of men. But waiving all discussion of the scientific side of evolution, we wish to emphasize one or two of his statements that bear on its moral phase. "Whichever of the two ways of creation God may have chosen, neither will cause the dependence of the world on him to become laxer, neither will attach it to him more firmly.* This is a bugle-call back to reason. Startled by the brilliant results of Darwin's work, the thinking world has written too much that is akin to the following passage from "The Nation:" "Channing's theology, much as he did to liberalize that of New England, is already absolute in the details of his creed, created no school, and has nothing in it *which will guarantee it against the undermining influences of the doctrine of evolution.*" Lotze's protest against such premature judgments is timely and valuable. Be the world specially created or evolved, with him moral questions are moral questions, and with burning sarcasm he deprecates the resolving of the science of ethics into a question of worms and frogs. But he protests likewise against the persistence with which some writers limit the creative methods of God to that of special creation.

Even the religious sense dare not prescribe to God the way in which he shall further develop his creation. We can remain assured that however undutiful this way might be, the guidance of the hand of God would not pass away. Man, who prolongs his life by consumption of the common products of nature, has no right to claim an ineffably noble origin of this his body. And, moreover, he must value himself according to what he is, and not according to that from which he has arisen. It suffices that we no longer feel ourselves to be monkeys, and it is a matter of indifference whether our remote ancestors, whom we no longer

* "*Microcosmus*," vol. ii, p. 158.

remember, belonged or not to this lower stage of life. Painful only would it be if we were compelled to become monkeys again, and this event impended in the near future.*

Since the revival of the study of natural science the possibility of miracles has again become the theme of more or less controversy. The emphatic protest that Lotze makes against any hypostization of laws, and his rigid subjection of the finite elements to the dictates of the Infinite, permits readily the inference that in his system miracles can have a place. The power that works them does it through his close relation to the inner nature of things, changing it, and thus bringing about the result in a manner that violates no law. Just as a galvanic current passed through water so changes the nature of the component atoms, hydrogen and oxygen, that their chemical affinity is destroyed, and they are given off as elementary gases, without in the meantime any law being violated; so God modifies the inner nature of things, and prepares them thus for new and unusual methods of action. But once again we must acknowledge the imperfection of our illustration.

"That whose worth and meaning entitles it to be a permanent member of the world's economy will live eternally; that which lacks this preserving worth will be destroyed." Such is Lotze's formulated answer to the momentous question of the soul's immortality. With him any demonstration is impossible. To call the soul a substance, and thus to entitle it to immortality, is to prove too much. If it is indestructible it cannot have been created, and, consequently, must have pre-existed. Moreover, having no right to limit the substantial nature to human souls, the immortality of the souls of animals is assured. And, further, the souls in the world being limited to a fixed number, we are brought dangerously near the doctrine of metempsychosis in the transmigration of souls. Such, when pushed to its legitimate consequences, are the results of the hypothesis of the soul as indestructible substance. Nothing remains to us, then, but the opening thought of the paragraph—the worthful is eternal.

Here we break off our exposition with the remark, that Lotze's "*Medicinische Psychologie*" has been the stimulus to the physiological psychology of Germany, and that his theory

* "*Metaphysik*," p. 465.

of the *Localzeichen* is one of the most important contributions of the century to psychology. That we have done scant justice to Lotze we are fully aware. As a Gothic cathedral, seen through haze and distance, loses its splendor and becomes a mere outline, so does a system like Lotze's lose its glory when seen through the fog of a magazine article. And as the cathedral, on a nearer view, reveals its numerous statues, its pointed arches fretted with tracery, its flying buttresses delicate in their strength, and its tower, with its graceful supports and pinnacles swinging itself audaciously into the heavens; so only through a study of his books themselves does Lotze's system reveal its many lofty thoughts, its graceful reticulations of dialectic subtleties, its flashes of poetic insight, inspiring and revealing, and its majestic unity which bases itself on the solid ground of experience, and, adorned with the idealized facts of labor, trade, domestic life, and history, rises up to the Eternal One. Lowell asserts that "with the gift of song Carlyle would have been the greatest of epic poets since Homer." Lotze is likewise a prose-poet, but his prose is lyrical. To the rare combination—absent in the philosophy of Carlyle—of exact thought and poetic energy, he owes much of his power. With him is "everywhere the aspect of the whole universe marvel and poetry, while prose is only the limited and one-sided perception of small regions of the finite." Lotze is a great spirit, and, as Ribot says, "worthy of our full homage."

ART. VII.—HARRIET MARTINEAU.

IN the autobiography of Harriet Martineau, we are presented with what must be considered a decidedly interesting book. It is the story of a woman who, with little of the quality called *genius*, yet resolutely and persistently employed the talents given her, and "made a covenant with labor as her portion and pleasure under the sun."

This remarkable lady was born at Norwich, England, in 1802. She was of French Protestant descent, her earliest recorded ancestor having emigrated to England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. She was the sixth of eight children, all of

whom seem to have received the best education which their parents could afford them; admonishing them, at the same time, that they must regard their education as their only secure portion.

Harriet improved well the advantages afforded her, acquiring, in the course of her school training, a knowledge of the Latin and French languages, to which she afterward added Italian and German, and was duly "exercised in composition as well as reading, in her own language and others." It was remarked of her, however, that in her childhood and youth there were few or no tokens of unusual talents or ability. "Her health was delicate, her spirits low, her habits of mind anxious, and her habits of life silent." It added seriously to the disadvantages of her youth—as well as of all her after life—that, at about twelve years of age, a slight deafness began to develop itself, which, growing upon her, rendered it necessary for her to use a trumpet during the remainder of her life.

Miss Martineau early addicted herself to the practice of composition, and her first appearance in print was before she was twenty years of age. Her earliest writings were mainly of a religious character, evincing Unitarian leanings; while, throughout her long and extraordinary career of authorship, it seemed to be characteristic of her that she wrote because she *must* write. Thoughts appeared to swarm within her and clamor for utterance; so that never, while health permitted, did her pen grow weary.

It soon transpired, however, that an additional necessity called for the exercise of her faculty of composition. The small fortunes falling to herself and sisters being lost by the failure of the house where their funds were intrusted, she suddenly found herself poor, and that it had now become necessary to provide, by her own labor and industry, for her support. Such was the occasion of one of her early and most successful literary efforts. This was her series of "Illustrations of Political Economy." An enterprise of this character might seem peculiar, especially as an undertaking of a lady, and a lady, too, not yet thirty years of age. But she was deeply impressed with the necessity of such a work, particularly for the instruction of the laboring classes, as well as for the influence which she hoped might be brought to bear upon the higher orders of

society. This literary enterprise embraced a series of tales the scenery of which was laid in different localities and countries, exhibiting, by skillful and interesting pen pictures, the great natural laws of society. It was a simple and unpretentious work—not professing “to offer discoveries or new applications of discoveries. It popularized in a fresh form some doctrines and many truths long before made public by others.”

In introducing this series of tales to the public the author experienced uncommon difficulties and struggles, the story of which may afford a useful moral to other young authors. She had applied to several publishing houses, all of which declined to issue the work. She at length, however, gained the ear of one publisher, who seemed partially inclined to attempt it. But he suddenly changed his mind, and was disposed to abandon the whole project. He had been advised against the enterprise, and presented a multitude of objections; while her final interview with him, as related by herself, is thus pictured:

I said to him, “I see you have taken fright. If you wish that your brother should draw back, say so now. There is the advertisement; make up your mind before it goes to press.” He replied, “I do not wish altogether to draw back.” “Yes, you do,” said I; “and I would do so at once. But I tell you this—the people want this book, and they shall have it!” “I know that is your intention,” he replied; “but I do own I do not see how it is to come to pass.” “Nor I; but it shall,” said I. Mr. Fox insisted that his brother should not go on with the publication unless its success was secured within a fortnight. “What do you mean by its success being secured?” asked Miss Martineau. “You must sell a thousand copies in a fortnight,” was the reply. No wonder that the poor lady was discouraged. “I began now at last to doubt whether my work would ever see the light. I thought of the multitudes who needed it—and especially of the poor—to assist them in managing their own welfare. I thought, too, of my own conscious power of doing this very thing. . . . At last it was necessary to go to bed; and at four o’clock I went, after crying for two hours with my feet on the fender. I cried in bed till six, when I fell asleep. But I was at the breakfast table by half-past eight, and ready for the work of the day.”

But her hour of triumph came. The publication commenced; and before the eventful fortnight ended, instead of the requisite one thousand, *five* thousand copies had been demanded. “From that hour,” she writes, “I have never had any other anxiety about employment than what to choose, or any real care about money.”

This series of tales comprised over a score of numbers, were issued once a month, and exhibited her best ability and success in this species of composition. Several other works of fiction proceeded from her pen, although this kind of writing seems not to have been her forte. The judgment of critics has been, that "the artistic aim and qualifications necessary for the successful execution of such compositions were absent—that she lacked power of dramatic construction, and that poetical inspiration and critical cultivation without which no work of the imagination can be worthy to live."

Soon after completing her series of pieces illustrative of political economy, Miss Martineau determined on a season of rest from literary labor. For this purpose she, in the summer of 1834, embarked at Liverpool for the United States, being actuated by a desire to witness for herself the practical operation of our institutions. Her reputation as an author preceded her to this country, and she was received and treated with distinction. After visiting various northern cities and the national capital, she journeyed to the South, and traveled somewhat extensively in the slave States, it being a special object of desire with her to study the subject of slavery as then existing in that portion of the Republic. She had always cherished sentiments opposed to the institution, and her southern travels do not seem to have exerted an influence, as with many other travelers, to modify or change her antislavery views, except to strengthen and confirm them.

It happened that Miss Martineau's visit to this country occurred at that period of time when antislavery feeling began to be specially aroused, and when, also, the country, North as well as South, arose in violent opposition to the sentiments and operations of abolitionism. The mob spirit became sadly prevalent, and lawless violence frequently broke forth—encouraged, too often, by many people of respectable standing in society. Meantime, Miss Martineau's sympathies were decidedly with the abolitionists; nor did she hesitate to avow her sentiments, although conducting herself with commendable prudence and modesty. It followed, as a matter of course, that she at once lost caste with many who, on her arrival here, welcomed her to their homes and firesides; while the evidence from her narrative is not slight that even she herself was not exempt from

danger growing out of the rabid spirit of the time. After a two years' visit here she embarked for England, and reached her native shores in safety. "When I returned home," she wrote, "the daily feeling of security, and of sympathy in my antislavery views, gave me a pleasure as intense as if I had returned from a long exile."

The next spring following her return home Miss Martineau published "Society in America," and afterward "Retrospect of Western Travel." Other works followed in rapid succession, such as, "How to Observe;" "Morals and Manners;" several volumes of "Guides to Service;" her novels, "Deerbrook" and "The Hour and the Man;" four volumes of children's tales, entitled "The Playfellow;" and "Life in the Sick Room." The most voluminous and laborious of her works was her "History of the Thirty Years' Peace," occupying her about one year; and, including the introduction, comprising three volumes. She also published "Eastern Life—Present and Past," which seems to have been deemed the best of her writings. Some smaller works succeeded, such as "Guides to the Lakes," "Household Education," and others; while accompanying all these multitudinous works were articles from her pen for various periodical publications, too numerous for specification. Among her last literary enterprises was a condensed translation of Comté's "Positive Philosophy," which she finished in November, 1853.

Miss Martineau, with all her love of literature and retirement, did not confine herself entirely to her beloved England. In addition to her protracted visit and extensive travels in this country, she in 1839 traveled in the south of Europe, and some years afterward visited Egypt, Palestine, and adjacent regions, a tour which gave rise to her "Eastern Life."

The autobiography of Miss Martineau seems to have been her last considerable work, and is the one in which the reading world will be the most deeply interested. It was written to be published after her decease, and when all praise or censure of the book would be nothing to her. Perhaps this consideration had its influence in that remarkable independence of thought and freedom of expression so characteristic of the entire narrative.

Of this freedom and singular plainness of speech we have

ample illustration in her remarks touching one and another of the distinguished characters of her time.

Of William Taylor, for example, she writes that his knowledge of German literature was a distinction which injured him. He was completely spoiled by the flatteries of shallow men and pedantic and conceited women.

Mrs. Barbauld she thought one of the finest writers in our language; and the best example of a woman of a sound classical education.

Brougham she distrusted; believing him vain and selfish, low in morals and unrestrained in temper, talking exceedingly fast, eating fast and prodigiously, profane and indecent in conversation, envious, jealous, and false.

Jeffrey had a warm heart, was generous to an extreme, a great converser, and had a cordial sympathy with all elevated sentiments.

Mrs. Trollope ranked low in the estimation of Miss Martineau; and she denounced manfully the "dirty pages" of her slanderous book on this country.

Sydney Smith she liked from the beginning, with all his bluffness and abundant witticisms. As a conversationalist, he was glorious; but she considered his manners and many of his sentiments as not very clerical, and judged him as having mistaken his calling, not having the spiritual tendencies and endowments suited to a clergyman.

Malthus, the political economist, was one of her friends; and he was pleased to tell her that her tales illustrating his favorite science had reported his views precisely as he could have wished.

Hallam was at his brightest when she first knew him. She enjoyed his works greatly, especially his "History of Literature;" and had a profound respect for him as an author before ever dreaming of him as a friend.

Southey she reports as gentle, kindly, and agreeable; but at the time of her meeting him seemed to be declining.

Bishop Whately she pictures as odd, of overbearing manners, sometimes rude and tiresome, and at other times full of instruction. She records that, when once alluding to his lawn sleeves, he said, "I don't know how it is; but when we have got these things on, we never do any thing more."

Monkton Milnes she liked for his catholicity of sentiment and manner, his ability to sympathize with all manner of thinkers and speakers, and being above all exclusiveness; and she pronounces his person wonderfully beautiful.

Of Grote, the historian, she speaks as being constitutionally timid and shy; which qualities he endeavored to conceal by a curious, formal, old-fashioned, deliberate courtesy. But she deemed him a grand man and a gentleman, as well as a scholar and author, while his reputation in these respects, she says, was always of the highest.

Mr. Roebuck, she writes, was full of knowledge, full of energy, full of ability; but possessed of much vanity, of lively spirits when well, and very highly agreeable as a guest or host.

To Mr. Macaulay, whom as a scholar and author we all revere so much, Miss Martineau takes many serious exceptions. Conceding his imposing and real ability, she, however, proceeds to excoriate him unmercifully, denouncing him as wanting heart, as unreliable, as fundamentally weak in his speeches and writings, and as failing signally as a legislator and politician. His History she pronounces a mere historical romance; takes him to task for his plagiarisms, for his slanderous attacks on William Penn, for his loose and unscrupulous method of narrating, for divers misrepresentations; and, in a word, transfixes the poor man, and holds him up before the world as simply a stupendous failure.

Campbell, the poet, she pictures as being too sentimental, and having a craving for praise too inordinate and morbid to allow him to be an agreeable companion.

Babbage, inventor of the calculating machine, she describes as extremely sensitive to what was said of him as an author; collecting every thing in print about himself, pasting them in a large book, and gloating and growling over them for whole days.

Of Lyell and Darwin she was a special admirer, while they, with their devoted wives, were ever-welcome visitors. Of Madam Lyell especially she speaks with enthusiasm, affirming that she grew handsomer, brighter, and more cheery from year to year.

The great Mrs. Somerville was also one of her friends, and her she characterized as of great simplicity, always well-dressed,

and thoroughly womanly in conversation and manners, with beautiful surroundings at her home, where, among other things, were several drawers filled with diplomas from sundry learned bodies.

Of Joanna Bailey, also, she speaks with great admiration, describing her as one whose serene and cheerful life was never troubled by the pains and penalties of vanity.

Allan Cunningham comes in for many pleasant words of approval. His simple sense and cheerful humor rendered his conversation as lively as that of a wit, while his literary knowledge and taste gave it refinement enough to suit any society.

Macready was artificial, but a more delightful companion could not be. A chivalrous spirit, unsleeping domestic tenderness, and sweet beneficence, all combined to make him the idol of society.

Carlyle, of course, was one of her heroes; and her characterization of this singular genius is more extensive than that of others. She was a frequent visitor at his Chelsea home, and consequently saw him in the more prominent phases of his character. Of one of his moods she thus writes: "The sympathetic is, by far, the finest in my eyes. This excess of sympathy has been, I believe, the torment of his life;" and she indulged the notion that the savageness which has come to be the prominent characteristic of this remarkable man is a mere expression of his intolerable sympathy with suffering people. "He cannot," she adds, "express his love and pity in natural acts like other people, and it shows itself too often in unnatural speech;" that is, in speech that is savage and ferocious. All this may be so, but plain and simple people will conclude it to be the first and last case of such a paradox in the history of the race. Miss Martineau's opinion of Carlyle was extremely favorable, and she deemed that he was worthy of being recognized as one of the chief influencers of his time.

Her estimate of Coleridge was not so exalted, though for a time she greatly admired him as a poet. He appeared to her to have been constitutionally defective in will, in conscientiousness, and in apprehension of the real and true.

Of the Brownings she writes that Robert was full of good sense and fine feeling; full, also, of fun, and a real genius; while she praises the genius of Mrs. Browning, esteeming her

poetry as wonderfully beautiful in its way. She pronounces them a remarkable pair.

In a sketch like this, it is, of course, indispensable that we pass over a multitude of interesting incidents associated with the life of this notable woman. Also, it is time to revert to the religious aspect of her character, or, more properly, to that sad "eclipse of faith" that gradually settled over her mind, and shut out from her vision all idea and hope of that glorious immortality brought to light in the gospel, and so precious with every Christian heart.

Miss Martineau, in her childhood and as she grew up, had received a Christian training, and passed no morning or evening without prayer. It is melancholy, therefore, to trace the gradual decline of her faith in the great scheme of redemption, and in revelation itself, until, in the course of her reading and speculation, she stranded, at length, on the stern rock of *necessity*; whence, through a long after-life of half a century, she was never extricated.

The views to which, at about twenty years of age, she had drifted, may be considered as embodied in the following propositions: The New Testament proceeds on the ground of *necessity*; and the fatalistic element pervades the doctrine of Christ and the apostles. The practice of prayer is wholly unauthorized in the New Testament, and Christian prayer, as now offered, answers to the Pharisaic prayers which Christ condemned. Miss Martineau, therefore, gradually ceased from all prayer, whether for herself or others. She professed to find herself a better person when she cared least about being good; and found, or thought she found, that working out her own salvation was demoralizing. Every thing in the material and spiritual world being fixed by immutable laws, she reached the same condition of ease about her spiritual as her temporal welfare, and, to use her own language, she "felt it better to take the chance of being damned (as she viewed damnation) rather than to be always quacking one's self in the fear of it." Then as prayer ceased, so all praise was laid aside, for she expressed herself as ashamed to offer to God a homage that would be offensive to a human being.

Thus with this distinguished lady all faith and worship ceased forever, and she reached the conclusion that Christian-

ity is a monstrous superstition, having the character of a mere fact in the history of the universe. There *may* be another life, but she does not believe it; she does not desire it; she indulges no care about it. If she finds it to be true, "all right," says she. Ay, most certainly, *all right*; but what will be involved in those two little words!

But we hasten to close at once this very imperfect notice of a very remarkable book—the production of a very remarkable woman. The pages additional to the autobiography, by Mrs. Chapman, Miss Martineau's editor and devoted friend, will be read, especially by American readers, with almost equal interest with the autobiography itself. We lay aside these volumes with mingled feelings of pleasure and sadness: pleasure, on the one hand, at the thought of what may be accomplished by a diligent pen, whether in the hand of man or woman; and sadness, on the other, at the possibility that an intelligent and talented lady of enlightened Britain, and in the nineteenth century, should most deliberately turn away from the light and hopes of Christianity, and embrace quietly, and apparently without the slightest misgivings, the darkness and hopelessness of paganism.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1881. (Philadelphia.)—1. A Glance at the Conflict between Religion and Science; by Rev. S. Fitzsimons. 2. The Joyous Knights: or, Frati Gaudenti; by Rev. Bernard J. O'Reilly. 3. The Anticatholic Issue in the Late Election—The Relation of Catholics to the Political Parties; by John Gilmary Shea. 4. Ireland's Great Grievance—Land Tenure in Ireland and other Countries; by M. F. Sullivan. 5. The Existence of God Demonstrated; by Rev. John Ming, S. J. 6. Lord Beaconsfield and his Latest Novel; by John M'Carty. 7. The Religious Outlook in Europe at the Present Day; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J. 8. The French Republic, Will it Last? by A. de G.

BAPTIST REVIEW, January, February, March, 1881. (Cincinnati.)—1. Organization and Personality; by President David J. Hill. 2. The Antiquity of Man—Its Present Phase; by Rev. E. Nisbet, D.D. 3. The Will in Theology; by President Augustus H. Strong, D.D. 4. Some Conditions of Pulpit Power; by Rev. Samuel Graves, D.D. 5. The Doctrine of Two Messiahs among the Jews; translated from the German, by Rev. J. F. Morton. 6. The Denominational Work of President Manning; by Reuben A. Guild, LL.D. 7. Moral Lessons from the Word; by Rev. Philip L. Jones. 8. The Old Testament Apocrypha; by Prof. John A. Broadus, D.D., LL.D.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1881. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Asperity of Luther's Language; by John G. Morris, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Confessional Principle and the Confessions; by H. E. Jacobs, D.D. 3. Notes on Some Postulates in the New Ethics; by C. A. Stork, D.D. 4. Philosophy of Religion; by Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph.D. 5. Is the Lord's Day only a Human Ordinance? by M. Valentine, D.D. 6. Some Elements of Family Religion; by Rev. J. C. Koller, A.M.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1881. (New Haven.)—1. Horace Bushnell; by Rev. Henry M. Goodwin. 2. Bayard Taylor's Posthumous Works; by Professor Franklin Carter. 3. Beowulf Gretti; by Prof. C. Sprague Smith. 4. The Irish Land Question; by Henry Carter Adams, Ph.D. 5. The Teaching of Church History as to the Method of the World's Conversion; by Rev. William De Loss Love. 6. A Humble Apology; or, Is the Pulpit Insincere? by Rev. M. C. Welch. 7. A Word with the Spelling Reformers; by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, January, 1881. (Boston.)—1. Sketch of the Life of the Hon. John Howe Peyton; by Col. J. T. L. Preston. 2. The Rev. John Eliot's Record of Roxbury Church Members; by William B. Trask, Esq. 3. Longmeadow Families; by Williard S. Allen, A.M. 4. Diary of the Hon. Paul Dudley, 1740; by B. Joy Jeffries, M.D. 5. Records of Dartmouth, Mass.; by the late James B. Congdon. 6. Taxes under Gov. Andros; by Walter Lloyd Jeffries, A.B. 7. Lieut. John Bryant and Descendants; by William B. Lapham, M.D. 8. Quincy Family Letters; by Hubbard W. Bryant, Esq. 9. Early Records of Gorgeana; by Samuel L. Boardman, Esq. 10. The Youngman Family; by John C. J. Brown, Esq. 11. Cabo de Baxos, or the Place of Cape Cod in the Old Cartology; by Rev. B. F. De Costa. 12. Descent of Margaret Locke, Wife of Francis Willoughby; by Col. Joseph L. Chester, LL.D. 13. Letters of Shirley and Moulton; by N. J. Herrick, Esq. 14. The Atherton Family in England; by John C. J. Brown, Esq. 15. Grantees of Meadow Lands in Dorchester; by William B. Trask, Esq. 16. Wright Genealogy by Rev. Stephen Wright. 17. Letters Written during the Revolution; by John S. H. Fogg, M.D.

PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1881. (New York.)—1. Grounds of Knowledge and Rules for Belief; by Mark Hopkins. 2. The Public Schools of England; by Prof. William M. Sloane, Ph.D. 3. The Historical Proofs of Christianity; by George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D. 4. Christian Morality, Expediency and Liberty; by Prof. Lyman H. Atwater. 5. Legal Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic; by Henry Wade Rogers. 6. Is Thought Possible without Language? by Prof. Samuel Porter. 7. Presidential Elections and Civil Service Reform; by William G. Sumner.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1881. (Boston.)—1. The Light of Asia; by G. T. Flanders, D.D. 2. Faith or Faithfulness? by Austin Bierbower. 3. A Study of American Archaeology; by Rev. J. P. M'Lean. 4. Revelations of God; by Rev. S. Crane. 5. Materialistic Conceptions of Religion; by Prof. J. S. Lee. 6. Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God; by Rev. Mary J. S. De Long. 7. New Defenses of Endless Punishment; by T. J. Sawyer, D.D.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, September, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Unity of Nature; by the DUKE OF ARGYLL.

We give, from the "Contemporary Review" for September, 1880, this initial article—an article remarkable both for beauty of style and force of argument—omitting the introductory part for want of room. The point of the argument is, that the unity of the universe and the unity of God reciprocally demand and demonstrate each other. Monotheism he holds to have been the primitive doctrine of God, derived from original revelation. And, amid the complexities of nature, there is a

oneness that shows the truth of the primitive belief. His first proof of this unity is derived from gravitation, which binds the material worlds in one. This argument was given in an article with great clearness some years ago, in our pages, by Professor Winchell; we, therefore, omit it, and proceed to the second.

Nor is gravitation the only agency which brings home to us the unity of the conditions which prevail among the worlds. There is another: Light—that sweet and heavenly messenger which comes to us from the depths of Space, telling us all we know of other worlds, and giving us all that we enjoy of life and beauty on our own. And there is one condition of unity revealed by Light which is not revealed by gravitation. For, in respect to gravitation, although we have an idea of the *measure*, we have no idea of the *method*, of its operation. We know with precision the numerical rules which it obeys, but we know nothing whatever of the way in which its work is done. But in respect to Light, we have an idea not only of the measure, but of the mode of its operation. In one sense, of course, Light is a mere sensation in ourselves. But when we speak of it as an external thing, we speak of the cause of that sensation. In this sense, Light is a wave or an undulatory vibration, and such vibrations can only be propagated in a medium which, however thin, must be material. Light, therefore, reveals to us the fact that we are united with the most distant worlds, and with all intervening space, by some ethereal atmosphere which embraces and holds them all. Moreover, the enormous velocity with which the vibrations of this atmosphere are propagated proves that it is a substance of the closest continuity, and of the highest tension. The tremors which are imparted to it by luminous bodies rush from particle to particle at the rate of 186,000 miles in a second of time; and thus, although it is impalpable, intangible, and imponderable, we know that it is a medium infinitely more compact than the most solid substance which can be felt and weighed. It is very difficult to conceive this, because the waves or tremors which constitute Light are not recognizable by any sense but one; and the impressions of that sense give us no direct information on the nature of the medium by which those impressions are produced. We cannot see the luminiferous medium except when it is in motion, and not even then, unless that motion be in a certain direction toward ourselves. When this medium is at rest we are in utter darkness, and so are we also when its movements are rushing past us, but do not touch us. The luminiferous medium is, therefore, in itself invisible; and its nature can only be arrived at by pure reasoning—reasoning, of course, founded on observation, but observation of rare phenomena, or of phenomena which can only be seen under those conditions which man has invented for analyzing the operations of his own most glorious sense. And never, perhaps, has man's inventive genius been more signally displayed than in

the long series of investigations which first led up to the conception, and have now furnished the proof, that light is nothing but the undulatory movement of a substantial medium. It is very difficult to express in language the ideas upon the nature of that medium which have been built up from the facts of its behavior. It is difficult to do so, because all the words by which we express the properties of matter refer to its more obvious phenomena—that is to say, to the direct impressions which matter makes upon the senses. And so, when we have to deal with forms of matter which do not make any impressions of the same kind—forms of matter which can neither be seen, nor felt, nor handled, which have neither weight, nor taste, nor smell, nor aspect—we can only describe them by the help of analogies as near as we can find. But as regards the qualities of the medium which causes the sensation of light, the nearest analogies are remote, and, what is worse, they compel us to associate ideas which elsewhere are so dissevered as to appear almost exclusive of each other. It is now more than half a century since Dr. Thomas Young astonished and amused the scientific world by declaring of the luminiferous medium that we must conceive of it as finding its way through all matter as freely as the air moves through a grove of trees. This suggests the idea of an element of extreme tenuity. But that element cannot be said to be thin in which a wave is transmitted with the enormous velocity of light. On the contrary, its molecules must be in closest contact with each other when a tremor is carried by them through a thickness of 186,000 miles in a single second. Accordingly, Sir J. Herschel has declared that the luminiferous ether must be conceived of not as an air, nor as a fluid, but rather as a solid—"in this sense at least, that its particles cannot be supposed as capable of interchanging places, or of bodily transfer to any measurable distance from their own special and assigned localities in the universe."* Well may Sir J. Herschel add that "this will go far to realize (in however unexpected a form) the ancient idea of a crystalline orb." And thus the wonderful result of all investigation is, that this earth is in actual rigid contact with the most distant worlds in space—in rigid contact, that is to say, through a medium which touches and envelops all, and which is incessantly communicating from one world to another the minutest vibrations it receives.

The laws, therefore, and the constitution of Light, even more than the law of gravitation, carry up to the highest degree of certainty our conception of the universe as one—one, that is to say, in virtue of the closest mechanical connection, and of the prevalence of one universal medium.

Moreover, it is now known that this medium is the vehicle not only of Light, but also of Heat, while it has likewise a special power of setting up, or of setting free, the mysterious action of chemical affinity. The beautiful experiments have become

* "Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects," p 285.

familiar by which these three kinds of ethereal motion can be separated from each other in the solar spectrum, and each of them can be made to exhibit its peculiar effects. With these again the forces of galvanism and electricity have some very intimate connection, which goes far to indicate like methods of operation in some prevailing element. Considering how all the forms of Matter, both in the organic and in the inorganic worlds, depend on one or other, or on all of these—considering how Life itself depends upon them, and how it flickers or expires according as they are present in due proportion—it is impossible not to feel that in this great group of powers, so closely bound up together, we are standing very close indeed to some pervading, if not universal, agency in the mechanism of Nature.

This close connection of so many various phenomena with different kinds of movement in a single medium is by far the most striking and instructive discovery of modern science. It supplies, to some extent, a solid physical basis, and one veritable cause for part, at least, of the general impression of unity which the aspects of Nature leave upon the mind. For all work done by the same implement generally carries the mark of that implement, as it were of a tool, upon it. Things made of the same material, whatever they may be, are sure to be like in those characteristics which result from identical or from similar properties and modes of action. And so far, therefore, it is easy to understand the constant and close analogies which prevail in that vast circle of phenomena which are connected with Heat, Light, Electricity, Chemical and Vital Action.

But although the employment of one and the same agency in the production of a variety of effects is, no doubt, one cause of the visible unity which prevails in Nature, it is not the only cause. The same close analogies exist where no such identity of agency can be traced. Thus the mode in which the atmosphere carries Sound is closely analogous to the mode in which the ether carries Light. But the ether and the atmosphere are two very different agents, and the similarity of the laws which the undulations of both obey is due to some other and some more general cause of unity than identity of material. This more general cause is to be found, no doubt, in one common law which determines the forms of motion in all matter, and especially in highly elastic media.

But, indeed, the mere physical unity which consists in the action of one great vehicle of power, even if this were more universally prevalent than it is known to be, is but the lowest step in the long ascent which carries us up to a unity of a more perfect kind. The means by which some one single implement can be made to work a thousand different effects, not only without interference and without confusion, but with such relations between it and other agents as to lead to complete harmonies of result, are means which point to some unity behind and above the implement itself—that is to say, they point to some unity in the method of

its handling, in the management of the impulses which, receiving, it conveys, and in the arrangement of the materials on which it operates.

No illustration can be given of this higher kind of unity which is half so striking as the illustration which is afforded by the astonishing facts, now familiar, as to the composition of solar light. When we consider that every color in the spectrum represents the motion of a separate wave or ripple, and that, in addition to the visible series, there are other series, one at each end of the luminous rays, which are non-luminous, and, therefore, invisible—all of which consist of waves equally distinct; when we consider, further, that all these are carried simultaneously with the same speed across millions of miles; that they are separable, and yet are never separated; that they are more accurately together, without jostling or confusion, in perfect combination, yet so that each shall be capable of producing its own separate effect—it altogether transcends our faculties of imagination to conceive how movements of such infinite complication can be united in one such perfect order.

And be it observed that the difficulty of conceiving this is not diminished, but increased, by the fact that these movements are propagated in a single medium; because it is most difficult to conceive how the particles of the medium can be so arranged as to be capable of conveying so many different kinds of motion with equal velocities and at the same instant of time. It is clear that the unity of effect which is achieved out of this immense variety of movements is a unity which lies altogether behind the mere unity of material, and is traceable to some one order of arrangement under which the original impulses are conveyed. We know that in respect to the waves of Sound the production of perfect harmonies among them can only be attained by a skillful adjustment of the instruments, whose vibrations are the cause and the measure of the aerial waves which, in their combination, constitute perfect music. And so, in like manner, we may be sure that the harmonies of Heat, Light, and Chemical Action, effected as they are among an infinite number and variety of motions, very easily capable of separation and disturbance, must be the result of some close adjustment between the constituent element of the conveying medium and the constituent elements of the luminous bodies, whose complex, but joint, vibrations constitute that embodied harmony which we know as Light. Moreover, as this adjustment must be close and intimate between the properties of the ether and the nature of the bodies whose vibrations it repeats, so also must the same adjustment be equally close between these vibrations and the properties of Matter on which they exert such a powerful influence. And when we consider the number and the nature of the things which this adjustment must include, we can, perhaps, form some idea of what a bond and bridge it is between the most stupendous phenomena of the heavens and the minutest phenomena of earth. For this adjustment must be

perfect between these several things—first, the flaming elements in the sun which communicate the different vibrations in definite proportion; next, the constitution of the medium, which is capable of conveying them without division, confusion, or obstruction; next, the constitution of our own atmosphere, so that neither shall it distort, nor confuse, nor quench the waves; and, lastly, the constitution of those forms of Matter upon earth which respond, each after its own laws, to the stimulus it is so made as to receive from the heating, lighting, and actinic waves.

In contemplating this vast system of adjustment it is important to analyze and define, so far as we can, the impression of unity which it makes upon us; because the real scope and source of this impression may very easily be mistaken. It has been already pointed out that we can only see likeness by first seeing difference, and that the full perception of that in which things are unlike is essential to an accurate appreciation of that in which they are the same. The classifying instinct must be strong in the human mind, from the delight it finds in reducing diverse things to some one common definition. And this instinct is founded on the power of setting differences aside, and of fixing our attention on some selected conditions of resemblance. But we must remember that it depends on our width and depth of vision whether the unities which we thus select in Nature are the smallest and the most incidental, or whether they are the largest and the most significant. And, indeed, for some temporary purposes—as, for example, to make clear to our minds the exact nature of the facts which science may have ascertained—it may be necessary to classify together, as coming under one and the same category, things as different from each other as light from darkness. Nor is this any extreme or imaginary case. It is a case actually exemplified in a lecture by Professor Tyndall, which is entitled “The Identity of Light and Heat.” Yet those who have attended the expositions of that eminent physical philosopher must be familiar with the beautiful experiments which show how distinct in another aspect are Light and Heat; how easily and how perfectly they can be separated from each other; how certain substances obstruct the one and let through the other; and how the fiercest heat can be raging in the profoundest darkness. Nevertheless, there is more than one mental aspect, there is more than one method of conception, in terms of which these two separable powers can be brought under one description. Light and Heat, however different in their effects—however distinct and separable from each other—can both be regarded as “forms of motion” among the particles of matter. Moreover, it can be shown that both are conveyed or caused by waves, or undulatory vibrations in one and the same ethereal medium. And the same definition applies to the chemical rays, which again are separable and distinct from the rays both of light and heat.

But although this definition may be correct as far as it goes, it is a definition, nevertheless, which slurs over and keeps out of

sight distinctions of a fundamental character. In the first place, it takes no notice of the absolute distinction between Light or Heat considered as sensations of our organism, or as states of consciousness, and Light or Heat considered as the external agencies which produce these sensations in us. Sir W. Grove has expressed a doubt whether it is legitimate to apply the word "Light" at all to any rays which do not excite the sense of vision. This, however, is not the distinction to which I now refer. If it be an ascertained fact, or if it be the only view consistent with our present knowledge, that the ethereal pulsations which do, and those which do not, excite in us the sense of vision are pulsations exactly of the same kind and in exactly the same medium, and that they differ in nothing but in periods of time or length of wave, so that our seeing of them, or our not seeing of them, depends on nothing but the focusing, as it were, of our eyes, then the inclusion of them under the same word "Light" involves no confusion of thought. We should confound no distinction of importance, for example, by applying the same name to grains of sand which are large enough to be visible, and to those which are so minute as to be wholly invisible even to the microscope. And if a distinction of this nature—a mere distinction of size, or of velocity, or of form of motion, were the only distinctions between Light and Heat—it might be legitimate to consider them as identical, and to call them by the same name. But the truth is, that there are distinctions between them of quite another kind. Light, in the abstract conception of it, consists in undulatory vibrations in the pure ether, and in these alone. They may or may not be visible—that is to say, they may or may not be within the range of our organs of vision, just as a sound may or may not be too faint and low, or too fine and high, to be audible to our ears. But the word "heat" carries quite a different meaning, and the conception it conveys could not be covered under the same definition as that which covers Light. Heat is inseparably associated in our minds with, and does essentially consist in, certain motions, not of pure ether, but of the molecules of solid or ponderable matter. These motions in solid or ponderable matter are not in any sense identical with the undulatory motions of pure ether which constitute Light; consequently when physicists find themselves under the necessity of defining more closely what they mean by the identity of Heat and Light, they are obliged to separate between two different kinds of Heat—that is to say, between two wholly different things, both covered under the common name of Heat—one of which is really identical in kind with Light, and the other of which is not. "Radiant" Heat is the kind, and the only kind of Heat, which comes under the common definition. "Radiant" Heat consists in the undulatory vibrations of pure ether which are set up or caused by those other vibrations in solid substances or ponderable matter, which are Heat more properly so called. Hot bodies communicate to the surrounding ethereal medium vibrations of the same kind with light, some of

these being, and others not being, luminous to our eyes. Thus we see that the unity or close relationship which exists between Heat and Light is not a unity of sameness or identity, but a unity which depends upon, and consists in, correspondences between things in themselves different. It has been suggested that the facts of Nature would be much more clearly represented in language if the old word "Caloric" were revived, in order to distinguish one of the two very different things which are now confounded under the common term "Heat"—that is to say, Heat considered as molecular vibration in solid or ponderable matter, and Heat considered as the undulatory vibrations of pure ether which constitute the "Heat" called "radiant." Adopting this suggestion, the relations between Light and Heat, as these relations are now known to science, may be thrown into the following propositions, which are framed for the purpose of exhibiting distinctions not commonly kept in view :

I. Certain undulatory vibrations in pure ether alone are Light, either (1) visible or (2) invisible.

II. These undulatory vibrations in pure ether alone are not Caloric.

III. No motions of any kind in pure ether alone are Caloric.

IV. Caloric consists in certain vibratory motions in the molecules of ponderable matter or substances grosser than the ether, and these motions are not undulatory.

V. The motions in ponderable matter which constitute Caloric set up or propagate in pure ether the undulatory vibrations which constitute Light.

VI. Conversely, the undulatory vibrations in pure ether which constitute Light set up or propagate in grosser matter the motions which are Caloric.

VII. But the motions in pure ether which are Light cannot set up or propagate in all ponderable matter equally the motions which are Caloric. Transparent substances allow the ethereal undulations to pass through them with very little Caloric motion being set up thereby; and if there were any substance perfectly transparent, no Caloric motion would be produced at all.

VIII. Caloric motions in ponderable matter can be and are set up or propagated by other agencies than the undulations of ether, as by friction, percussion, etc.

IX. Caloric, therefore, differs from Light in being (1) motion in a different medium or in a different kind of matter; (2) in being a different kind of motion; (3) in being producible without, so far as known, the agency of light at all. I say "so far as known," because, as the luminiferous ether is ubiquitous, or as, at least, its absence cannot anywhere be assumed, it is possible that in the calorific effects of percussion, friction, etc., undulations of the ether may be always an essential condition of the production of Caloric.

It follows from these propositions that there are essential distinctions between Light and Heat, and that the effect of lumi-

niferous undulations, or "Radiant" Heat, in producing Caloric in ponderable matter depends entirely upon, and varies greatly in accordance with, the constitution or structure of the substances through which it passes, or upon which it plays.

The same fundamental distinction applies to those ethereal undulations which produce the effects called Chemical. No such effects can be produced upon substances except according to their special structure and properties. Their effect, for example, upon living matter is absolutely different from the effect they produce upon matter which does not possess vitality. The forces which give rise to chemical affinity are wholly unknown. And so are those which give rise to the peculiar phenomena of living matter. The rays which are called Chemical may have no other part in the result than that of setting free the molecules to be acted upon by the distinct and separate forces which are the real sources of chemical affinity.

What, then, have we gained when we have grouped together, under one common definition, such a variety of movements and such a variety of corresponding effects? This is not the kind of unity which we see and feel in the vast system of adjustments between the sun, the medium conveying its vibrations, and the effect of these on all the phenomena of earth. The kind of unity which is impressed upon us is neither that of a mere unity of material, nor of identity in the forms of motion. On the contrary, this kind of unity among things so diverse in all other aspects is a bare intellectual apprehension, only reached as the result of difficult research, and standing in no natural connection with our ordinary apprehension of physical truth. For our conception of the energies with which we have to deal in Nature must be molded on our knowledge of what they do, far more than on any abstract definition of what they are; or rather, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that our conception of what things are can only be complete in proportion as we take into our view the effects which they produce upon other things around them, and especially upon ourselves, through the organs by which we are in contact with the external world. If in these effects any two agencies are not the same—if they are not even alike—if, perhaps, they are the very antithesis of each other—then the classification which identifies them, however correct it may be, as far as it goes, must omit some characteristics which are much more essential than those which it includes. The most hideous discords which can assail the ear, and the divinest strains of heavenly music, can be regarded as identical in being both a series of sonorous waves. But the thought, the preparation, the concerted design—in short, the unity of mind and of sentiment, on which the production of musical harmony depends, and which it again conveys with matchless power of expression to other minds—all this higher unity is concealed and lost if we do not rise above the mere mechanical definition under which discords and harmonies can nevertheless be in this way correctly classed together. And

yet so pleased are we with discoveries of this kind, which reduce, under a common method of conception, things which we have been accustomed to regard as widely different, that we are apt to be filled with conceit about such definitions, as if we had reached in them some great ultimate truth on the nature of things, and as if the old aspects in which we had been accustomed to regard them were by comparison almost deceptive; whereas, in reality, the higher truth may well have been that which we have always known, and the lower truth that which we have recently discovered. The knowledge that Light and Heat are separable, that they do not always accompany each other, is a truer and juster conception of the relation in which they stand to us, and to all that we see around us, than the knowledge that they are both the same in respect of their being both "modes of motion." To know the work which a machine does is a fuller and higher knowledge than to know the nature of the materials of which its parts are composed, or even to perceive and follow the kind of movement by which its effects are produced. And if there be two machines which, in respect to structure and movement and material, are the same, or closely similar, but which, nevertheless, produce totally different kinds of work, we may be sure that this difference is the most real and the most important truth respecting them. The new aspects in which we see their likeness are less full and less adequate than the old familiar aspects in which we regard them as dissimilar.

But the mind is apt to be enamored of a new conception of this kind, and to mistake its place and its relative importance in the sphere of knowledge. It is in this way, and in this way only, that we can account for the tendency among some scientific men to exaggerate beyond all bounds the significance of the abstract definitions which they reach by neglecting differences of work, of function, and of result, and by fixing their attention mainly on some newly-discovered likeness in respect to form, or motion, or chemical composition. It is thus that, because a particular substance called "Protoplasm" is found to be present in all living organisms, an endeavor follows to get rid of Life as a separate conception, and to reduce it to the physical property of this material. The fallacy involved in this endeavor needs no other exposure than the fact that, as the appearance and the composition of this material is the same whether it be dead or living, the Protoplasm of which such transcendental properties are affirmed has always to be described as "living" Protoplasm. But no light can be thrown upon the facts by telling us that life is a property of that which lives. The expression for this substance which has been invented by Professor Huxley, is a better one—the "Physical Basis of Life." It is better, because it does not suggest the idea that Life is a mere physical property of the substance. But it is, after all, a metaphor which does not give an adequate idea of the conceptions which the phenomena suggest. The word "basis" has a distinct reference to a mechanical sup-

port, or to the principal substance in a chemical combination. At the best, too, there is but a distant and metaphorical analogy between these conceptions and the conceptions which are suggested by the connection between Protoplasm and Life. We cannot suppose Life to be a substance supported by another. Neither can we suppose it to be like a chemical element in combination with another. It seems rather like a force or energy which first works up the inorganic materials into the form of protoplasm, and then continues to exert itself through that combination when achieved. We call this kind of energy by a special name, for the best of all reasons, that it has special effects, different from all others. It often happens that the philosophy expressed in some common form of speech is deep and true, while the objections which are made to it in the name of science are shallow and fallacious. This is the case with all those phrases and expressions which imply that Life and its phenomena are so distinguishable from other things that they must be spoken of by themselves. The objection made by a well-known writer,* that we might as well speak of "a watch force" as of "a vital force," is an objection which has no validity, and is chargeable with the great vice of confounding one of the clearest distinctions which exist in Nature. The rule which should govern language is very plain. Every phenomenon or group of phenomena which is clearly separate from all others should have a name as separate and distinctive as itself. The absurdity of speaking of a "watch force" lies in this—that the force by which a watch goes is not separable from the force by which many other mechanical movements are effected. It is a force which is otherwise well-known, and can be fully expressed in other and more definite terms. That force is simply the elasticity of a coiled spring. But the phenomena of Life are not due to any force which can be fully and definitely expressed in other terms. It is not purely chemical, nor purely mechanical, nor purely electrical, nor reducible to any other more simple and elementary conception. The popular use, therefore, which keeps up separate words and phrases by which to describe and designate the phenomena of Life, is a use which is correct and thoroughly expressive of the truth. There is nothing more fallacious in philosophy than the endeavor by mere tricks of language, to suppress and keep out of sight the distinctions which Nature proclaims with a loud voice.

It is thus, also, that because certain creatures widely separate in the scale of being may be traced back to some embryonic stage, in which they are undistinguishable, it has become fashionable to sink the vast differences which must lie hid under this uniformity of aspect and of material composition under some vague form of words in which the mind makes, as it were, a covenant with itself not to think of such differences as are latent and invisible, however important we know them to be by the differences of result to which they lead. Thus it is common now to speak of things

* Mr. G. H. Lewes.

widely separated in rank and function being the same, only "differentiated," or "variously conditioned." In these, and in all similar cases, the differences which are unseen, or which, if seen, are set aside, are often of infinitely greater importance than the similarities which are selected as the characteristics chiefly worthy of regard. If, for example, in the albumen of an egg there be no discernible differences either of structure or of chemical composition; but if, nevertheless, by the mere application of a little heat, part of it is "differentiated" into blood, another part of it into flesh, another part of it into bones, another part of it into feathers, and the whole into one perfect organic structure, it is clear that any purely chemical definition of this albumen, or any purely mechanical definition of it, would not merely fail of being complete, but would absolutely pass by and pass over the one essential characteristic of vitality which makes it what it is, and determines what it is to be in the system of Nature.

Let us always remember that the more perfect may be the apparent identity between two things which afterward become widely different, the greater must be the power and value of those invisible distinctions—of those unseen factors—which determine the subsequent divergence. These distinctions are invisible, not merely because our methods of analysis are too coarse to detect them, but because, apparently, they are of a nature which no physical dissection and no chemical analysis could possibly reveal. Some scientific men are fond of speaking and thinking of these invisible factors as distinctions due to differences in "molecular arrangement," as if the more secret agencies of Nature gave us the idea of depending on nothing else than mechanical arrangement—on differences in the shape or in the position of the molecules of matter. But this is by no means true. No doubt there are such differences—as far beyond the reach of the microscope as the differences which the microscope does reveal are beyond the reach of our unaided vision. But we know enough of the different agencies which must lie hid in things apparently the same to be sure that the divergences of work which these agencies produce do not depend upon or consist in mere differences of mechanical arrangement. We know enough of those agencies to be sure that they are agencies which do, indeed, determine both arrangement and composition, but do not themselves consist in either.

This is the conclusion to which we are brought by facts which are well known. There are structures in Nature which can be seen in the process of construction. There are conditions of matter in which its particles can be seen rushing under the impulse of invisible forces to take their appointed place in the form which to them is a law. Such are the facts visible in the processes of crystallization. In them we can see the particles of matter passing from one "molecular condition" to another; and it is impossible that this passage can be ascribed either to the old arrangement which is broken up, or to the new arrangement which is substituted in its stead. Both structures have been

built up out of elementary materials by some constructive agency which is the master and not the servant—the cause and not the consequence—of the movements which are effected, and of the arrangement which is their result. And if this be true of crystalline forms in the mineral kingdom, much more is it true of organic forms in the animal kingdom. Crystals are, as it were, the beginnings of Nature's architecture, her lowest and simplest forms of building. But the most complex crystalline forms which exist—and many of them are singularly complex and beautiful—are simplicity itself compared with the very lowest organism which is endowed with Life. In them, therefore, still more than in the formation of crystals, the work of "differentiation"—that is to say, the work of forming out of one material different structures for the discharge of different functions—is the work of agencies which are invisible and unknown; and it is in these agencies, not in the molecular arrangements which they cause, that the essential character and individuality of every organism consists. Accordingly, in the development of seeds and of eggs, which are the germs of plants and animals respectively, the particles of matter can be traced moving, in obedience to forces which are unseen, from "molecular conditions" which appear to be those of almost complete homogeneity to other molecular conditions which are of inconceivable complexity. In that mystery of all mysteries, of which physicists talk so glibly, the living "nucleated cell," the great work of creation may be seen in actual operation, not caused by "molecular condition," but determining it, and, from elements which to all our senses and to all our means of investigation appear absolutely the same, building up the molecules of Protoplasm, now into a sea-weed, now into a cedar of Lebanon, now into an insect, now into a fish, now into a reptile, now into a bird, now into a man. And in proportion as the molecules of matter do not seem to be the masters but the servants here, so do the forces which dispose of them stand out separate and supreme. In every germ this development can only be "after its kind." The molecules must obey; but no mere wayward or capricious order can be given to them. The formative energies seem to be as much under command as the materials upon which they work. For, invisible, intangible, and imponderable as these forces are—unknown and even inconceivable as they must be in their ultimate nature—enough can be traced of their working to assure us that they are all closely related to each other, and belong to a system which is one. Out of the chemical elements of Nature, in numerous but definite combinations, it is the special function of vegetable life to lay the foundations of organic mechanism; while it is the special function of animal life to take in the materials thus supplied, and to build them up into the highest and most complicated structures. This involves a vast cycle of operations, as to the unity of which we cannot be mistaken—for it is a cycle of operations obviously depending on adjustments among all the forces both of solar and terrestrial physics—and every part of

this vast series of adjustments must be in continuous and unbroken correlation with the rest.

Thus every step in the progress of science which tends to reduce all organisms to one set of elementary substances, or to one initial structure, only adds to the certainty with which we conclude that it is upon something else than composition and structure that those vast differences ultimately depend which separate so widely between living things in rank, in function, and in power. Although we cannot tell what that something is—although science does not as yet even tend to explain what the directive agencies are or how they work—one thing, at least, is plain: that if a very few elementary substances can enter into an untold variety of combinations, and by virtue of this variety can be made to play a vast variety of parts, this result can only be attained by a system of mutual adjustments as immense as the variety it produces, as minute as the differences on which it depends, and as centralized in direction as the order and harmony of its results. And so we come to understand that the unity which we see in nature is that kind of unity which the mind recognizes as the result of operations similar to its own—not a unity which consists in sameness of material, or in identity of composition, or in uniformity of structure, but a unity which consists in similar principles of action—that is to say, in like methods of subordinating a few elementary forces to the discharge of special functions, and to the production, by adjustment, of one harmonious whole.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, February, 1881. (New York.)—1. The Nicaragua Canal; by General U. S. Grant. 2. The Pulpit and the Pew; by Oliver Wendell Holmes. 3. Aaron's Rod in Politics; by Judge Albion W. Tourgee. 4. Did Shakspeare write Bacon's Works? by James Freeman Clarke. 5. Partisanship in the Supreme Court; by Senator John T. Morgan. 6. The Ruins of Central America, Part VI; by Désiré Charnay. 7. Poetry of the Future; by Walt Whitman.

Notwithstanding the great name of General Grant, and the great importance of the isthmian transit, the prime article of this number is Judge Tourgee's on "Aaron's Rod in Politics." Wrapt up in this enigmatical title is a very able discussion of the method of removing the illiteracy of the people, especially of the Southern States, and the endowing every voter with the intelligence necessary to an intelligent vote. The proportions of this illiteracy is thus presented:

Voting population of the United States.....	7,623,000
" " " former slave States.....	2,775,000
Illiterate male adults in the United States.....	1,580,000
" " " former slave States.....	1,123,000
Per cent. illiterate voters in United States to entire vote.....	20
" " " slave States.....	45
" " " States not slave.....	9
" " " South Carolina.....	59
Illiterate voters in Southern States (white).....	304,000
" " " (colored).....	819,000

From this table the following facts will be apparent:

1. The sixteen Southern States contain about one third of our voting population, and *almost three fourths of our illiteracy*.

2. Forty-five per cent. of the voters of the Southern States are unable to read their ballots.

3. The illiteracy of the South, plus six per cent. of its literate voters, can exercise the entire power of those States.

4. If this illiterate vote be neutralized by force or fraud, a majority of the intelligent voters, or twenty-eight per cent. of the entire vote of those States, will exercise their entire national strength.

These States have one hundred and thirty-eight electoral votes; or, in other words, they exercise *seventy-two per cent.* of the power necessary to choose a President or constitute a majority in the House of Representatives, and *eighty-four per cent.* of a majority in the Senate.

By reason of their ignorance, forty-five per cent. of the voters of the South are unable:

1. To know what is their political duty.

2. To be sure that their votes actually represent their wishes.

3. To secure the counting of the ballots which they cast.

4. To protect themselves in the exercise of their ballatorial privileges.—P. 144.

We lately read in a Southern Methodist paper an ingenious article, evidently written by a man of culture, claiming to show that a common school education was unnecessary for public political safety, for our fathers, who founded our Constitution, were illiterate, having in fact no common school system. The article was self-contradictory. For, if ignorant men can construct a government just as well as the educated, why could he not have framed just as good an article without the knowledge of grammar, orthography, or penmanship? Judge Tourgee had evidently encountered this argument, and gives reply:

OUR FOUNDERS WERE PICKED MEN.

The immigration to our shores (except the pauper and penal immigration to some of the Southern plantations) had chiefly been confined to religious malcontents, who came to avoid persecution, and persons who voluntarily left their homes to seek advantage from settlement in unbroken wilds. This very fact stamps them as among the most enterprising, far-seeing and determined of their respective classes. They were really picked men. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest never had a better illustration than in the settlement of the American colonies. This was the main reason why our early settlers, coming as they did chiefly from the middle and lower classes of England, developed so sud-

denly a capacity for self-government, invented new governmental forms, and adapted themselves to untried conditions with such astonishing ease.—P. 149.

Our author would not raise a fund and intrust it to any State, since ample experience shows that it would be very liable to be squandered by the demagogues in the Southern States, as other national bestowments have been. He would adopt the

MODEL OF THE PEABODY FUND.

It is, in effect, the plan adopted in the distribution of the Peabody Fund, and has there shown itself well calculated both to secure immunity from imposition and also to awaken public interest and co-operation in educational work. By this wise method of administration the trustees have doubled, and perhaps trebled, the value of Peabody's munificent benefaction. Giving to no school enough to wholly sustain it; requiring it to be kept open a certain number of months in every school year; to have a certain minimum of enrolled pupils and a certain average attendance during that time; and, above all, paying only when its work has been done; the Peabody Fund has done more good by inducing others to give than by the funds actually distributed. Its working has been altogether harmonious both with State systems and free schools maintained by private subscription. The same system adopted by the nation would have a like effect. If the authorities of a State should refuse to co-operate with the nation, the people of the separate districts of such State might still share its benefits by a little individual exertion. It would only be necessary, in order to carry out this provision, to ascertain the number of illiterates in any specified territory of each race, apportion the fund thereto, and, before giving money to any school within that town or district, to require proof either that it was open to all races, or, in States where public opinion does not allow of mixed schools, that like opportunity was afforded to the other race by other schools in such district. Of course, the details of this would require careful elaboration. No man could to-day draw a bill sufficiently broad and elastic to meet all the needs of such a system. Only care, experience, and the most extended study of the data furnished by full and careful reports, could enable one to accomplish such a task.—Pp. 156, 157.

The question next discussed is,

BY WHOM WOULD THIS PLAN BE OPPOSED?

It is in the Southern States alone that any opposition to such a plan of national action is to be anticipated. The mistaken ideas of the rank and file of the "Solid South," in regard to the true interests of that section, naturally incline them to oppose any thing looking toward governmental action in this respect, and

many of their leaders would be bitterly hostile to any thing which promised to secure the enlightenment of their constituents. Their power depends in great measure on the ignorance of the masses. It is a mistake to suppose that the leaders of the "Solid South" are the best men of the organization which they control. They are, to a large extent, the buccaneers, the desperadoes, of their own party; the men who were bold enough and unscrupulous enough to assume its leadership in the days of active kukluxism, and head the revolutionary organizations which gave it power. They are men who gained prominence by their boldness in directing movements which touched the verge of treason, were unlawful and violent. There were many who sympathized with the purposes of such organizations who did not approve of their methods. Few cared to face danger and ostracism to oppose; but many tacitly disapproved. These are the really "best men" of the "Solid South." As a rule, they are not extravagantly proud of their present leaders. Many of them—and the number is hourly increasing—are becoming more and more convinced that the education of the voter is the only chance for the permanent prosperity of their section. These would undoubtedly give in their adhesion to such a system.—P. 158.

Senator Morgan's article on "Partisanship in the Supreme Court" is an insidious plea in behalf of judicial treason. What he virtually demands is that the nation should place judges on the bench hostile to our national existence. It is a true traitor's plea. It asks this nation to disregard the law of national self-preservation. More than once did the Democratic Supreme Court, during the Rebellion, aim a blow at the Union cause. Notably, when the question of the power of the government to blockade the rebel States came before that court, the Democratic majority would have given victory to secession by a negative decision had not Judge Grier deserted their side and left them alone in their disloyalty. No man who ever took arms, or favored the use of arms, against his country; no man who denies that we are a nation, or claims that a single State has a right to dismember our nationality, ought ever to be seated in that court. And such an exclusion is not partisanship but patriotism.

James Freeman Clarke furnishes an ingenious argument against certain modern theorists, to show that Bacon did not write Shakspeare, but that Shakspeare wrote Bacon. You find the argument so skillfully conducted that, if not convinced yourself, you are likely to believe that the writer is, when he unceremoniously breaks up the play by telling you that he is

only parodying the opposite argument, and showing that the historic fact stands undisturbed that Shakspeare wrote Shakspeare and Bacon wrote Bacon.

We are sorry that the able editor encourages charlatanry by inserting Walt Whitman's semi-idiotic twaddle.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1881. (London.)—1. Agnosticism; by Rev. Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D. 2. Evolution and the Hebrews: A Review of Herbert Spencer's "Hebrews and Phœnicians;" by Rev. Alfred Cave, B.A. 3. The Eloquence of the Pulpit. Translated by Clement De Faye from the French of the late Adolphe Monod. 4. Two Modern Apostles; by Rev. Alex. Macleod Symington, B.A. 5. Christian Philosophy of Patience. 6. The Observance of the Sabbath; by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D. 7. Evolution in Relation to Species; by Rev. J. H. M'Ilvaine, D.D. 8. Criteria of the Various Kinds of Truth; by Rev. James M'Cosh, D.D. 9. The Regeneration of Palestine; by Prof. William Wells. 10. The Faith of Islam; by Rev. Edward Sell.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1881. (London.)—1. Congregationalism. 2. Ugo Bassi. 3. The Lord's Supper Historically Considered. 4. The Constitutional Monarchy in Belgium. 5. The Christian Church and War. 6. Materialism, Pessimism, and Pantheism: Final Causes. 7. Dr. Julius Müller. 8. Some National Aspects of Established Churches.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1881. (New York.)—1. Memoirs of Prince Metternich. 2. The Navies of the World. 3. Jacob van Arteveld, the Brewer of Ghent. 4. Endymion. 5. Dr. Caird on the Philosophy of Religion. 6. Laveleye's Italy as It Is. 7. Army Reform. 8. Grove's Dictionary of Music. 9. Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea. 10. England and Ireland.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1880. (Calcutta.)—1. Missionary Education; by Rev. C. W. Park. 2. Foreign Missions of the M. E. Church; by Rev. James Mudge, B.A., B.D. 3. The Prospects of Hindu Caste; by Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., LL.B. 4. Prayer Books; by Rev. William Harper, M.A. 5. Reply to Mr. Harper on Prayer Books; by Rev. W. R. Blackett, M.A. 6. Intemperance among the Santals; by A. Campbell. 7. Reasons for the Adoption of Ishwar, as the Term or Equivalent for God, in the Santali Language; by A. Campbell.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1881. (New York.)—1. Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor. 2. Californian Society. 3. Lord Bellingbroke in Exile. 4. Protection of British Birds. 5. Lord Beaconsfield's Endymion. 6. Belief and Unbelief. 7. Mr. Justin McCarthy's History of Our Own Times. 8. Employment of Women in the Public Service. 9. The Ritualists and the Law. 10. The Truth about Ireland.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January. (London.)—1. The Great Pyramid and its Interpreters. 2. National Education: English and Continental. 3. Recent Travels in Japan. 4. The Land Question in England and Ireland Contrasted. 5. Christianity and the Science of Religion. 6. The Doctrine of the Spirit in the Epistle to the Romans. 7. The Protest of the Wurtemberg Clergy against Methodism.

The seventh article is a reply, written with Christian moderation and considerable ability, to a manifesto from certain Lutheran clergymen against our German Methodism. The manifesto aims to make as broad a doctrinal issue as possible against

Methodism, charges that Methodism is as much to be avoided as Rationalism or Romanism, and gives a very earnest warning against the Methodist infection. It gives a catalogue of the disabilities which all Methodists must incur, in the following terms: "Every member of our Church who transfers to a Methodist preacher any such spiritual function as marriage, the baptism or confirmation of a child, or the burial of his relatives, by that act separates himself from the national Church; and, until he returns, will be deprived of all his ecclesiastical privileges, especially his claim to the burial of the Church, so far as the presence of the clergy and the singing of the choristers at his funeral is concerned. Neither can such a one vote for, or be elected, a member of the parish vestry. The clergy will not permit any child to be confirmed who at the same time is receiving religious instruction from the Methodists."—P. 443. Our reviewer adds: "It is the story with which Methodism in England is thoroughly familiar. The community of German Methodists is in a certain sense excommunicated, and must go on its way under the protection of the law."—P. 443.

Of the nature and consequences of these onslaughts by the state clergy on Methodism the reviewer gives the following excellent paragraph:

The Theses wind up with very practical suggestions: "16. The best means against Methodism is doctrine in conformity with our confession and care for souls. But to these must be added polemics in preaching and in catechising. It must be regarded as a plain duty, flowing from pastoral compassion for the poor flock, that a definition of what is Methodistic and what is Lutheran is not to be shunned. It must be clearly explained that the question is not about a State Church or a Free Church, about the clergy or the meeting, but about another way of salvation, when in truth there is no other. 17. Where the Methodist is purposing to nestle, visits to those who are threatened are desirable. Plain statements from the pulpit and historical instruction at special services have been proved to be beneficial. In addition, the parishioners must be taught to distinguish Methodist individuals from Methodist societies, and not to sin against Methodists, but rather to learn from them." All that the objects of these cautions could desire is that this "historical information" should be honestly given. There should be perfect truth in these polemics and catechisings. All misstatements and exaggerations are wrong in themselves and should be shunned; moreover, they are sure to be found out sooner or later. The defendant has nothing to fear in any case. No surer means of bringing the character of

Methodism to light could be adopted than this public preaching and private teaching against them. People will be stimulated to inquire who they are who are as bad as infidels and Romanists, and to read their books, and to ask what are those "activities peculiar to Methodism" which, on the other hand, their pastors recommend for "adaptation to our own Church." They will find out that these activities are, after all, very much like the healthy charitable vigor of the Acts of the Apostles; and, indeed, that those which are most "peculiar" are marvelously akin to those Pietistic methods of encouraging godliness to which South Germany owes much of the religion it has. Now this kind of discovery invariably tends to recommend the system which these ministers abhor. If they were well read in the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain in the last century—a branch of learning in which German divines generally show themselves strangely deficient—they would know that these "polemics" were among the most nourishing elements of the growth of Methodism. It has always thriven on this kind of diet. The Lutheran clergy could not more effectually serve the cause they wish to suppress than by declaiming against it in the style of these declamations.—Pp. 442, 443.

The action of the Methodist ministry in reply is thus in conclusion stated :

As we approached the close of this short paper a sheet reached us containing the Reply issued, under the sanction of the English and American Methodist ministers, by Mr. Dieterle, one of their body. It is a temperate and well-argued letter, and clearly traces the chain of circumstances—clerical intolerance and the leadings of Providence—which have justified the attitude assumed by the German Methodists, with the help of England and America. We have reason to believe that this counter plea has been useful in circles independent of the two bodies, and hope that it will tend to awaken more moderate thoughts, and thoughts more worthy of themselves, in the minds of the evangelical clergy themselves. Meanwhile, we think that the attacked should defend themselves by a dignified and silent discharge of their duties. They should not be drawn into polemics. No good can come of them. Meek submission to whatever penalties they have to endure, and a persevering return of good for evil, will do more than multitudes of pamphlets or sermons. But our space is gone; and we must, for a time at least, dismiss this painful controversy.—Pp. 443, 444.

The following paragraph occurs in a book notice of Dr. Maccracken's "Lives of the Leaders of the Church Universal," criticising especially the American part of that book :

It would be easy to take exception to much in the execution of the task that Dr. Maccracken set himself. The very plan of the book,

which associates some eighty authors in the composition of more than a hundred lives, renders it very unequal in style and merit. In some sections the ecclesiastical element predominates, in others the historical, and in others the devotional. Occasionally the matter is paltry, as when a doctor in divinity, after fixing the average weight of Bishop M'Kendree at one hundred and sixty pounds, introduces us to a curious discussion as to the color of his eyes. But, as a rule, the information is *reliable*, and the leading traits in the character are rightly and forcefully portrayed. Some of the lives, indeed, are exquisitely well told, and no one can read the familiar stories of Lawrence, of the girl-martyrs at Lyons and Carthage, or of Monica and her son, without seeing fresh beauty in them, and having his devotion stirred and his admiration re-awakened. Except for very frequent Americanisms in phrase and spelling, the rendering is fairly done, though amid the exigencies of translation the rights of grammar are not always respected, and sentences of this kind too often disfigure the pages: "By exceeding diligence the youth was soon so far along in grammatic studies that he could give lessons, and so earn his own living." By a little more care in his editorial work, and a rigid preference of pure forms of English to bastard ones, etc., Dr. Macracken will be able to rid this first series of its few blemishes; and, if he show similar skill in selection in the next series, he will have accomplished the great work of proving historically the identity of the Christian religion under all names, and in all places and ages, since the ascension—

We interrupt the sentence in the midst of its exuberant flow to say that the entire train of remarks is characterized by that tone of excessive self-respect which renders our English cousin both in Europe and America, so often much more agreeable to himself than to any body else. Our own experience is that as many an ugly looking linguistic "bastard" is often begotten in England as in any other part of the globe; though our reviewer would doubtless reply, at least mentally, that an Englishman's "bastard" is, of course, truly legitimate. For is not an Englishman's talk truly English? Yet an American hears in England phrases from even literary mouths that sound wonderfully "bastard." He may hear an English clergyman maintaining from the pulpit that "a young man ought to *get on*." He wonders when he hears an Englishman say, "This is different to that;" or, "Immediately that this took place that event followed." Even in this writer's high-toned criticism, he wonders whether "reliable" is legitimate or "bastard." And the very phrase in which this exception to "Americanisms" is taken

seems to us very "bastard." "*Except for very frequent Americanisms,*" etc., is, we rejoice to say, not American, and we believe is not English. It seems to us that so peremptory a critic should write in legitimate style; or are we to understand that when an Englishman begets a new linguistic kink it is a legitimate, but, if an American, a "bastard?" On this point we have a few words to offer.

The very adjective English as applied to language is not a geographical but an ethnological term. When we profess to speak English we have no reference to a locality. What is called the English language is as much the property of the man born in America or Australia as of the man born in London. To the common English-speaking race we owe the duty to seek to maintain such uniformity as will tend to preserve the language as one. But that can never be accomplished by setting one locality—a locality noted for its recklessness of speech and utterance—as supreme and capricious arbiter. The vast English-speaking republic will not leave it to cockneydom to decide at its own sweet will what is purity of language. A word is none the worse for being an Americanism. A new word must attain legitimacy not from the spot in which it is born, but by its own intrinsic excellence. If it expertly express a shade of thought demanding its designation, if euphonious, if accordant with the laws of analogy so as to define itself instantly to the whole world-wide republic, it needs no certificate from England. If not, it is truly "bastard," though begotten by an English adulterer. So long, indeed, as England's present pre-eminence in literary rank remains, the decently expressed disapproval of English criticism will command respect. But the great future of the language is with America. And when an Englishman puts on his expansive strut and talks about a "vile Americanism" and "bastard," contempt is a game that two can play at.

As to "spelling," we remember the statement of an eminent German, that the English language, by the simplicity of its syntax, is the best of all languages for universal diffusion, but its universality is prevented by its whimsical orthography. And, we may add, its whimsical orthography is kept in existence by the stiffness of English conservatism, which prefers an absurdity simply because of its being in place and familiar to

the eye. We have no belief that America will be brain-bound through centuries by any such obstructiveism. We believe the time is coming when the rickety old spelling-machine will be "smashed," and a beautiful reconstruction come into existence.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1881. Second Number. *Essays*: 1. ROEDENBERG, On Marriage with Special Regard to Divorce, and the Remarriage of Divorced Persons. *Thoughts and Remarks*: 1. TOLLIN, Servetus on Preaching, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. 2. NOWACK, Remarks on the Fourteenth Year of Hiskia. 3. HOLLENBERG, Critical Remarks on the Second Martyrdom of St. Ignatius. *Reviews*: 1. KNAAKE, Review of Three Works on Servetus by Tollin. 2. SIEGFRIED, Review of Nowack's Commentary to the Prophet Hosea. *Miscellaneous*: 1. Programme of the Hague Society for the Defense of the Christian Religion for the Year 1880. 2. Programme of the Teyler Theological Society at Haarlem for the Year 1881.

According to Dr. Roedenberg, the author of the first article, the introduction of civil marriage, if viewed from the stand-point of the Evangelical Church, is in general of a very questionable advantage, but in one respect it has had a very favorable influence upon the shaping of the relation of the Church to the State, (of course, he means the Evangelical Church of Germany.) "It has freed," he says, "the Church from the obstruction which had hitherto prevented the scriptural management of the laws relating to the Christian marriage. This liberation imposes upon the Evangelical Church the duty of examining again and again the principles by which she judges the admissibility and the consequences of divorce by the words of Holy Writ. It must be admitted that the repeated attempts which the Church has made at different times to harmonize her action with the demands of Holy Writ have, in spite of all the labor expended upon them, remained at length without lasting result. This consideration should lead to a new investigation whether or not the principles by which the Church has been guided suffer from a mistake which hitherto has not been sufficiently recognized and appreciated. I find this mistake in the doctrine of malicious abandonment. I am of opinion that this doctrine is irreconcilably opposed to the teachings of the Lord and the apostles, and that, consistently developed, it must lead to the principle of the absolute solubility of marriage. As long as malicious abandonment is recognized as a scriptural ground for divorce so long will the force of consistency induce

people to recognize also numerous other grounds for divorce as justified, and all counter-efforts will finally be in vain."

Dr. Roedenberg says that his article is intended to prove the above assertions to be correct. This truth, however, appears to him to be impossible without examining more closely, under the guidance of Holy Writ, the nature and essence of marriage, and without, in particular, contemplating marriage also with regard to its natural basis and its effects, (the *unitas carnis*,) from which the Lord himself, in opposition to the Pharisees, derives the indissolubility of marriage. In order to appreciate this point in its full significance it may be of service to remember how from the time of the Middle Ages the scriptural views of the bodily unity of married persons controlled the consciences of the people, how they shaped the formation of the laws on marital affairs, especially on the judicial consequences of the marriage, as the laws of inheritance and property. The author announces that he will treat of these points more fully than is generally the case, in order to show their consistency and validity. In the opinion of Dr. Roedenberg the Church Fathers were right who represented a divorce as becoming perfect only by the remarriage of the divorced persons. "The Lord does not condemn a mere separation as much as the remarriage of the divorced, and the apostle also judges leniently on mere separation. But the remarriage of divorced persons is repeatedly and emphatically designated by the Lord as adultery. He exempts from this judgment only the remarriage of those who were separated on account of the *πορνεία* of the other part. It is not difficult to determine the position of the Church with regard to the divorced, as long as they remain single; but the difficulty begins as soon as the divorced contract a new marriage, and demand from the Church to recognize them as man and wife, to admit them to the Lord's Supper, and to solemnize their marriage." The questions connected with these points cannot be thoroughly answered without previously elucidating what is effected in regard to the conclusion of a perfect marriage by the civil marriage act, what by the beginning of this marital communion and the consummation of the marriage, and what remains to be consummated by the religious solemnization of the marriage. This is an outline of the treatise which the author intends to

write on the subject. It is begun in the present number of the *Studien*, and will be concluded in the next.

The readers of the German Theological Quarterlies during the last twenty years cannot but have noticed the great number of books, pamphlets, and articles treating of Michael Servetus, the learned Spaniard of the sixteenth century who was burned by order of Calvin for having denied the doctrine of the Trinity. What is still more remarkable, all these numerous publications have been written by one man, H. Tollin, pastor at Magdeburg. In the present number of the *Studien* we have from his pen one new article, entitled, "Servetus on Preaching, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper," and a review of three different books published by him since 1875, and entitled, "Dr. M. Luther and Dr. M. Servetus, Philip Melancthon and M. Servetus, and Michael Servetus and Martin Butzer." For twenty years Mr. Tollin has been ransacking the libraries of Germany, Switzerland, France and Northern Italy, to find new information of Michael Servetus, whom he regards as one of the literary heroes of mankind, and to whom he wishes to procure that prominent place which, in his opinion, is due, but has hitherto been denied to him. In the opinion of his reviewer, Mr. Tollin is no historian, he is carried away by his enthusiasm for his hero, and led astray into the most exaggerated assertions. He is, of course, deeply interested in his subject, writes in a beautiful style, and frequently presents views which surprise by their novelty. But, says the reviewer, many of his statements have been found to be untrustworthy, and his many new books and articles must, therefore, be received at least with a great reserve.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Dr. Hilgenfeld. 1881. First Number. 1. HILGENFELD, Cerdon and Marcion. 2. W. GRIMM, On a Few Questions concerning the Book Tobias. 3. FRITSCH, The Letter of Ratramnus on the Kynokephaloi, (Dog's Heads.) 4. TOLLIN, The Generation of Jesus in Servetus' "Restitutio Christianismi." 5. GRUNWALD, Contributions to the History of the Masora. Second Number. 1. HILGENFELD, The Muratorianum and the Investigations by A. Harnack and Franz Overbeck. 2. JULIUS FURST, Contributions to the Critical Investigations on the Books of Samuel. 3. SEUFERT, Relationship between the First Epistle of Peter and the Epistle to the Ephesians. 4. ROENSCH, Remarks on the Itala. 5. EGLI, Remarks on the Pentateuch, (a) On Noah's Ravens, (b) On Exodus, i, 16. 6. PREISS, The Origin of the Jehovah Worship. 7. HILGENFELD, The Epistle of the Valentinian Ptolemy to Flora.

"Of all the heretics of the ancient Church," says Dr. Hilgenfeld, "none has exerted so powerful and so lasting an influence

upon his time as Marcion of Pontus, the countryman of the cynic philosopher, Diogenes of Sinope. No other heretic of the ancient Church is, moreover, of so great importance for the critical investigations on the history of the New Testament as Marcion, who opposed his own canon of the Holy Scriptures to the scriptural canon of the Orthodox Church. Even the old Church workers represented him as the destructive critic of the Gospels and Epistles of Paul, (*Tertullianus adv. Marcionem*, iv, 3,) while, on the other hand, the modern critical school lays stress on Marcion's assertions of a direct opposition between Paul and the primitive apostles, regarding it an ancient testimony for the true history of primitive Christianity. This modern school has even shown to Marcion the honor of finding polemical references to him in several writings of the New Testament, particularly in the pastoral letters of Paul. It is, therefore, a question of the highest importance at what time and in what manner Marcion made his appearance as a heretic." According to the ancient Church Fathers, Marcion, notwithstanding his marked originality, was closely connected with the heretical Gnosis. It is in particular stated by Epiphanius (see McClintock and Strong's "Cyclopædia," art., Marcion) that Marcion joined at Rome the Syrian Cerdon, who preached in that city the Gnostic doctrines, and that he confessed his intention of proclaiming an abiding schism in the Christian Church. This connection between Marcion and the Gnostics has recently been denied by Adolf Harnack, who has been engaged for some time in preparing a special work on Marcion, the first installment of which was published in 1876 in the "*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*," (p. 80-120,) in an article entitled, "*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Marcionitischen Kirchen*." In the first theological essay published by him, (*Zur Quellenkritik des Gnosticismus*, 1873,) Harnack expresses the opinion that "the originality of this wonderful man, Marcion, is so extraordinary that it cannot be sufficiently emphasized. Entirely different from the Gnostics who, following their abstruse and theoretical speculations, left the Christian masses far behind them and conceded to them as psychists a certain relative right, he feels himself called upon to work among these masses, and to purify and transform the faith which animated them. Because he was fully convinced that the forms in

which the Catholic Christianity of his times had become crystallized were not only not entitled to any recognition, but that they were absolutely unchristian, yea, antichristian, he believed himself to have received the mission to go immediately back, in a reformatory manner, to the primitive history of Christianity, and to serve a Church—which in his opinion was relapsing into Judaism—as the only trustworthy guide in the return to the right path. In this sense he believes in his own divine mission. As formerly Paul was commissioned by God to bring to light unadulterated the true preaching of Christ, thus a hundred years later he was divinely commissioned to warn once more, in the same manner, the erring Church.” Hilgenfeld considers this argumentation of Dr. Harnack as being in the main correct, but he submits that if Marcion was not like the other Gnostics, a mere man of the school, but above all a man of deeds and of life—if he did not care so much for a large number of followers as for a reformation of the entire Church—then it does not interfere with his originality if he passed through the school of a Gnostic like Cerdon, but obtained his peculiar significance as an ecclesiastical agitator and organizer. Hilgenfeld then goes on to examine all the passages in the early Church writers which refer to or shed light upon the relation between Cerdon and Marcion. In summing up the result of his minute investigations he finds that not a single one of the Church writers whose passages he has examined gives us the right to represent Marcion as a heretical autodidact, or even as one of the principal heretics blooming at a time when Valentinus and Bauloder were only blossoming. On the contrary, he arrives at the opinion that Marcion of Pontus did, for a considerable length of time, a flourishing business as a ship-owner; that about 140 or soon after, at a time when he was already a Christian, or at all events acquainted with Polycarpus of Smyrna, he joined the Christian congregation at Rome; that in Rome he entered into a closer connection with Cerdon, the Syrian, and entirely fell out with the Orthodox Church. Though he may have been a pupil and follower of the theoretical heretic, Cerdon, he practically did a great deal himself by widening the heresy into an open schism. His lasting work consisted in the rupture between a Christianity freed from the law on the one hand, and all ten-

dencies toward Judaism on the other, and in the foundation of a heretical universal Church which he endeavored to spread throughout the world, and even supplied with its own Scripture. His work continued to exist long after the merely theoretical gnosia had ceased. The recent literature on the subject, as is usual in the articles of Professor Hilgenfeld, is copiously quoted.

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French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) December, 1880.—1. BERSIER, The Unchangeable Value of the Teachings of Jesus Christ. 2. E. W., A New Life of Saint Paul. 3. LORJOT, A Great Man and a Grand Nature.

January, 1881.—1. MOURON, The Physiology of the Mind. 2. PUAUX, The French Mission in South Africa among the Bassutos. 3. E. W., Lord Beaconsfield's New Novel.

February, 1881.—1. SABATIER, The Future of Theology. 2. PUAUX, The French Mission in South Africa among the Bassutos. (Second Article.) 3. SCHAEFFER, The Lyric Poets of Austria. 4. E. W., George Eliot.

The editors of the *Revue*, in a brief preface to the December number, announce that a few changes will be made in the editorial management of next year's volume. E. de Pressensé will write the monthly review of important events alone, instead of alternating with A. Sabatier. The latter will write once every three months a *bulletin litteraire*. Twice a year M. Philippe Bridel will give a *bulletin philosophique*. The *Chronique Allemande* by Professor Lichtenberger, and the *Chronique Anglaise* will be continued as in the volume for 1880.

All those who take an interest in the progress of Protestant missions in pagan countries are acquainted with the French Protestant mission among the Bassutos, in South Africa. Its success has long been the glory of Protestant France, for, small as the number of Protestants is in France, especially since Alsace and Lorraine have been united with Germany, they have made, by their Bassuto mission, a very notable contribution to the prosperous missions of the Protestant world. The war which the English government of the Cape Colonies wantonly provoked, in 1880, by ordering the peaceable Bassutos to lay down their arms, and which at the beginning of 1881 had not yet been ended, has produced a most painful impression upon Protestant Churches in general, and particularly upon the

Protestant Churches of France. It is, therefore, very opportune that the *Revue* gives us, from the pen of an old, tried contributor, the history of the favorite pagan mission of Protestant France. The first missionaries were sent out in 1829. The Society of Evangelical Missions, which took this field in hand, had been formed only a few years ago. On arriving at the Cape Colony the missionaries met with a warm reception on the part of the descendants of the French Huguenots who had lived there since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They had lost, under the rule of the Dutch, the knowledge of their native tongue, and only one old man was met with who still spoke French, but they still were greatly attached to France. Soon after King Moshesh of the Bassutos, who was greatly harassed by the neighboring tribes of the Koranas and the Griquas, heard of them, and he sent some oxen to a Hottentot hunter, who was acquainted with the missionaries, with the request to send him in return a "man of prayer." One of the three missionaries who accepted the king's invitation was M. Casalis, whose name is now indissolubly connected with the beginning of the civilization and Christianization of the Bassutos. After having labored among them for twenty-three years he published the work, *Les Bassoutos ou Vingt Trois années de séjour et d'observations au sud de l'Afrique*, (second edition, Paris: 1860,) which will always remain the chief source of information for the history of this interesting mission, and a standard work of the missionary literature of Protestantism. King Moshesh remained the devoted friend of the missionaries until his death, and never wavered in his high appreciation of the services which the missionaries rendered to his people by instructing and civilizing them; he died, however, without becoming a Christian himself. The people gradually passed over from a nomad life to fixed settlements, and the Church, which, under the management of missionaries belonging to the Reformed Church of France, naturally assumed the Presbyterian form of government, gradually and steadily grew. In 1841 the first printing-office was established, where a newspaper and several works in the native tongue have been published. Of the New Testament no less than 26,000 copies have been printed and sold. A normal school has been established at Morija, and is likewise in a flourishing condition. In

1872 the synodal organization of the native Church was completed, and has since that time been in uninterrupted operation. Under the influence of the missionaries, agriculture and commerce have been wonderfully developed. They have exported more than one hundred thousand sacks of wheat, of two hundred pounds each, and more than two hundred thousand balls of wool, and have imported manufactured articles from Europe of an aggregate value of more than 3,750,000 francs. The majority of the Bassutos are still pagan, but the Christian minority, excelling by education, industry, and wealth, already has a controlling influence. In 1880 the French Protestant mission in the lands of the Bassutos numbered sixteen missionaries, two physicians, one assistant missionary, and one director of an industrial school. There were fourteen stations or central Churches, with sixty-nine annexes, under the care of one hundred and twenty-six native helpers. The contributions of the Bassutos for the support of missions amounted in 1879 to the sum of 37,700 francs. More recently a resolution was passed at one of the synods of the Bassuto Churches to send out a missionary for the conversion of the river tribes of the Zambesi. The sum of 15,000 francs was at once subscribed for this object, and numerous catechists declared their readiness to join in the mission. When M. Coillard, who was put at the head of the mission, arrived in August, 1878, at Leshoma, on the Zambesi, he was surprised to find that all the tribes of the country, the Makhalakas, the Batokas, the Masobiéas, the Matotekas, the Mashapatanés, fully understood the Séssuto, or the language of the Bassutos.* A major in the English army in South Africa, Mr. Malan, who is known for his intimate acquaintance with the natives of South Africa, has written an interesting work on the beginning and importance of this new mission, which has been translated into French, *La Mission française du sud de l'Afrique, impressions d'un ancien soldat, par C. H. Malan, traduit par madame G. Mallet*, (1878.) The entire territory inhabited by the Bassutos covers an area of about 12,700 square miles, with a population estimated at about 100,000. By the treaty of peace which they had to

*The name of the country inhabited by the Bassutos is Lessouto; the name of the language, Séssuto; one inhabitant is called Mossouto; and the plural of this word is Bassutos.

make with the Boers of the Orange Free State, on March 26, 1866, after a protracted war, they had to cede a portion of their territory to that Republic; the remainder, with about 60,000 inhabitants, was, on March 12, 1868, annexed to Natal.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

[ONE of the last numbers of the new edition of Professor Herzog's "*Real Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*," contains an article on Italy, by K. Rönneke, which, after treating of the present condition of the Roman Catholic Church, gives a full statement of the different Protestant denominations of that country in 1880. As the progress of Protestantism in Italy has a special interest for every Protestant, we translate this account of the present condition of Italian Protestantism for our readers.]

The Evangelical Church in Italy is at present represented by the well-known Waldensian Church and the less known Free Italian Church, to which must be added a few smaller ecclesiastical denominations which owe their origin to Foreign Missions.

I. THE WALDENSIANS.—This Church, after being heavily oppressed for many centuries and often subjected to bloody persecutions, received in the former kingdom of Sardinia freedom of worship by a decree of February 17, 1848. At that time the Church numbered in the so-called Waldensian valleys the following fifteen congregations: Angrogna, Bobbio—Pellice, Masello, Perrero, Pomaretto, Praly, Pramollo, Prarostino, Rodoretto, Rora, S. Germano, S. Giovanni, Torre Pellice, Villa Pellice, and Villa Secca. Besides, it had a congregation in Turin. These old congregations of the Waldensians must be distinguished from the new congregations which, by means of an active evangelization, have been formed in all parts of the kingdom of Italy. The former numbered in 1879, 11,958 members, 17 active and 6 superannuated pastors, with 4,727 pupils in the day schools, (elementary schools, college, and seminary,) and 2,859 pupils of Sunday-schools. The college of Torre Pellice has 7 professors and 75 scholars, the seminary of the same place, 3 teachers, with 31 pupils, the Female High School at the same place, 9 teachers and 71 pupils; the preparatory college at Pomaretto has 2 professors and 32 pupils. Besides, there are 3 hospitals at Torre Pellice, Pomaretto and Turin, and 1 orphanage for girls at Torre Pellice. In 1855 a theological school was founded at Torre Pellice for the education of clergymen who formerly had been educated abroad, especially at Geneva and Lausanne. This school was removed in 1862 to Florence, and had in 1879 3 professors and 18 students. At the head of the entire Church

there is a Board of Administration and Superintendence, called The Table, consisting of 5 persons, and elected by the Synod of the Church, which annually meets in the first week of September. The Synod elects likewise a Committee of Evangelization, which consists of 6 members, and has control of the work of evangelization, and superintends all the new congregations, stations, schools, etc. According to the official report of 1879 the number of the new congregations was 39, of stations, 32. We mention of them the following: Ancona, Aosta, Brescia, Caltanisetta, Castiglione, Catania, Coazze, Como, S. Fedele, Courmayeur, Favale, Florence, (2 congregations,) Genoa, Guastalla, Ivrea, Leghorn, Lucca, Messina, Milan, Modica, Naples, Pinerolo, Pietra-Marazzi, Palermo, Pisa, Reggio, (Calabria,) Rio Marina and Porto Ferraio, (on the island of Elba,) Rieti, Rome, San Bartolomeo in Galdo, Sanpierdarena, Syracuse, Susa, Trabia, Trapani, Turin, Vallecrosia, Verona, and Venice. Elementary schools are found in Ariccia, Catania, Florence, Genoa, Guidizzolo, Leghorn, Lucca, Naples, Palermo, Pietra-Marazzi, Pinerolo, Pisa, Poggio-Mirteto, Rio Marina, Nice, Rome, Sanpierdarena, Monzambano, Trabia, Transella, Turin, Venice, Verona, Viareng. There are employed for these congregations and schools 34 ordained ministers, 23 evangelists, 44 teachers, 7 colporteurs. The congregations and stations number 2,813 communicants, about 400 catechumens, 1,684 pupils in the elementary schools, and 1,636 children in the Sunday-schools.

II. THE FREE ITALIAN CHURCH.—This Church has been in existence since 1870, in which year 23 congregations which had been formed independently of the evangelization carried on by the Waldenses, united themselves at Milan into a religious denomination under the above name. They have their own creed and constitution, which were adopted by the second and third General Assemblies at Milan and Florence. At the head is a Committee of Evangelization, consisting of 5 ordinary and 4 honorary members. The Church has 36 congregations, and 35 stations of evangelization, of which we mention the following: Albano, Bari, Bassignana, Belluno, Bergamo, Bologna, Brescia, Mottola, Fara-Novarese, Florence, Leghorn, Livorno, (Piedmont,) Milan, Naples, Pietrasanta, Ghezzano, Rocca Imperiale, Rome, S. Giovanni Pellice, Sayona, Treviglio, Treviso, Turin, Udine. Elementary schools have been established in Florence, Leghorn, Naples, Pisa, Cisanello, Rome. The congregations and schools are under the care of 15 ordained ministers, 15 evangelists, 3 colporteurs, 21 male and female teachers. The rolls of the congregations contain the names of 1,800 communicants, 265 catechumens, 724 children in Sunday-schools, and 1,300 in the elementary schools. Since 1876 the Free Italian Church has conducted at Rome a "Theological School" with 4 professors and 10 students. Connected with it is a preparatory school with 3 teachers and 7 scholars.

III. THE FREE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—This Church consists of the remnant of those independent small congregations which were unwilling to join the Free Italian Church. The heads of this Church refuse on principle to give any information on the number of their members

and laborers. We must, therefore, content ourselves with stating that among the larger congregations of this Church are those of Alessandria, Bologna, Florence, Genoa, Mantua, Milan, Rome, and Turin. Besides these there may be about 50 other places where this denomination has a larger or smaller number of brethren. The Church rejects the institution of an ordained ministry as contrary to the Gospel.

IV. THE WESLEYAN CHURCH.—Wesleyan missionaries from England have labored in Italy since 1861. Their missions are divided into a northern and southern district. The northern district embraces 28 congregations and stations, 14 ordained ministers, 2 evangelists, 11 male and female teachers, 2 colporteurs, 756 communicants, 58 catechumens, 414 scholars in elementary schools, 393 scholars in Sunday-schools. The southern district has 15 congregations and stations, 8 ordained clergymen, 5 evangelists, 10 male and female teachers, 573 communicants, 196 catechumens, 383 scholars in the elementary, and 228 scholars in Sunday-schools. Among the places where this Church has congregations and stations are Rome, Bologna, Velletri, Spezia, Padua, Vicenza, (Bassano,) Reggio, (Emilia,) Parma, Mazzano Inferiore, Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Intra, Rimini, Aquila, Noto, Caserta, Catania, Catanzaro, Cosenza, Messina, Naples, Palermo, Salerno. It has day-schools in Bologna, Marinascio, Mazzano Inferiore, Spezia, Caserta, Catania, Naples, and evening schools in Mezzano Inferiore, Spezia, Rome, Velletri.

V. THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH has been at work since 1873. It has congregations and stations in Arezzo, Bologna, Faenza, Forli, Florence, Foligno, Milan, Modena, Naples, Narni, Perugia, Rome, Terni, Venice. The number of ordained ministers is 8, of evangelists, 9, of colporteurs, 1, of communicants, 437, of catechumens, 215, of children in Sunday-schools, 160, of Bible women, 5.

VI. BAPTISTS.*—1. The American Baptists have been evangelizing since 1870 in Bari, Barletta, Cagliari, Milan, Modena, Naples, Rome, Torre Pellice, Venice. They have 9 ministers, 175 baptized members, 65 catechumens, 2 elementary schools, and 5 Sunday-schools. The English Baptists have been at work since 1871 in Civitavecchia, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Rome, Turin, Trapani. They employ 11 ministers and evangelists in these places and in the neighborhood. The largest congregation in Rome numbers 124 members, 16 catechumens, and 80 children in Sunday-schools.

The Protestant Italian press is at present represented by the following papers: 1. "*Rivista Cristiana*," a literary monthly; 2. "*Famiglia Cristiana*," a weekly family paper with illustrations; 3. "*Amico di Casa*," a popular almanac with a very large circulation; 4. "*Amico dei Fanciulli*," an illustrated monthly for children; 5. "*Le Temoin*," a French religious journal for the Waldensian valleys; 6. "*Il Cristiano Evangelico*,"

* The "Baptist Hand-Book for 1881" (London, 1881) gives the number of members of Baptist Churches as about 400. It enumerates 28 places where Baptists meet for divine worship.

a religious journal for the Waldensian missionary congregations; 7. "*L'Educatore Evangelico*," a Waldensian school journal; 8. "*Il Piccolo Messaggiere*," the Church paper of the Free Italian Church; 9. "*La Vedetta Cristiana*," the Church paper of the Free Christian Church; 10. "*La Civiltà Evangelica*," the Church journal of the Wesleyans; 11. "*La Fiaccola*," the Church journal of the American Methodists; 12. "*Il Semiatore*," a literary monthly of the American Baptists. Noteworthy are also the seamen's missions, which are carried on in the ports of Genoa and Naples in floating chapels, as well as the evangelical military congregation in Rome.

Among the charitable institutions controlled by Protestants we mention: 1. The Orphanage and House of Refuge for Boys, in Florence, founded by Dr. Comandi, with 80 boys; 2. The Ferretti Orphanage for Girls, in Florence, with 32 girls; 3. The Orphanage in Vallecrosia for Boys and Girls, founded by Mrs. Boyce, containing 50 orphans; 4. The Gould Female Institution at Rome, for the education of both boys and girls; 5. The Van Meter Schools at Rome; 6. The Labor School for Women at Rome.

The English Italian Tract Society keeps an evangelical printing and publishing office (*Tipografia Claudina*) at Florence. The British and Foreign Bible Society has offices and depositories in Ancona, Florence, Genoa, Leghorn, Milan, Naples, and Rome. In the same cities there are also Protestant book-stores. An Italian Bible Society has been in existence since 1873. Young Men's Christian Associations have been organized in Florence, Messina, Naples, Padua, Rome, Turin, and Venice. There are missions for the Jews in Rome, Leghorn, and Verona.

There are German Protestant congregations in Bergamo, Florence, Genoa, Leghorn, Milan, Messina, Naples, Rome, and Venice, and in connection with them hospitals in Florence, Milan, Genoa, Naples, Rome; elementary schools in Genoa, Messina, Rome, Venice; high schools for boys in Florence, Leghorn, Naples; female high schools in Florence, (under the control of the Kaiserswerth deaconesses, with a boarding school,) and Naples.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE new edition of the great theological cyclopædia of Protestant Germany, by Professor Herzog and Professor Plitt, ("*Real Encyclopædie for Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*," New York: B. Westermann & Co.; Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe,) has now reached the end of the letter K. Of the fifteen volumes which the complete work is to contain seven have now been completed. In a prefatory remark to the seventh volume it is announced that one of the editors, Professor J. L. Plitt, of Heidelberg, had died on Sept. 10, 1880. His place has been filled by the appointment of Professor Albert Hauck, who, as editor of several theological periodics—

als, and by other literary labors, had made himself favorably known as an able theologian. The new volumes which have been published since our last notice of the work, and which contain the articles from the beginning of the letter E to the end of the letter K, fully support the high reputation which this work has enjoyed throughout the Protestant world since the publication of the first number of the first edition. We need not tell the regular readers of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* of the wonderful productivity which continues and steadily increases in the department of Protestant theological literature. Every successive number of the *Review* calls attention to works which shed new light on important points of theological and religious science. The number of works which are of a strictly religious character now amounts to many thousands every year. Germany alone publishes several thousands every year, and it is especially in Germany where the young theologians who wish to obtain an academical degree or a theological professorship are expected and encouraged to write special treatises on points that need further elucidation. Thus it may be said that every important subject treated of in a theological Cyclopædia needs revisions and additions after a few years. A comparison of the volumes of the new edition of Herzog's "Cyclopædia" with the corresponding volumes of the first edition, which were published some twenty years ago, shows, indeed, that in almost every article of importance new information derived from recent literature has been added. The first three volumes of McClintock & Strong's "Cyclopædia" were published in the years 1867, 1870, and 1872, and even since then, as the most cursory perusal of the large articles in the German work will show, an extraordinary amount of new matter in the religious sciences has been made available. No one can examine any volume of this grand work without becoming convinced that in the whole range of Cyclopædias, general and special, it has hardly any superior and but few equals. What makes this Cyclopædia especially valuable as a work of reference is the fact that almost every article has been prepared by a theologian of acknowledged reputation, who shows himself fully conversant with the entire literature on the subject, and treats of it in an exhaustive manner. Among the most thorough articles on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity we have noticed those on Gott and Kirche, both by Dr. Julius Köstlin, and that on Jesus, by Zöckler. The biographical articles on the Popes have all been written by Professor Zopffel, and those of the last four volumes embrace among others those on Innocent III., Gregory VII., and Honorius. The last-named article gives an interesting reference to the literature called forth by the dogmatization of Papal Infallibility, which, it would seem, the condemnation of Pope Honorius as a heretic, by a council recognized as ecumenical, should have sufficed to make forever impossible. Other interesting biographical articles are those on Franz von Assisi; Julian the Apostate, by A. Harnack; Hus, by Gotthard Lechler; Johannes Presbyter, by Germann; Jansenius, by Dr. Herzog; Josephus Flavius, by E. Schürer; Johannes von Damascus, by Dr. Dorner. One of the most interesting

archæological articles is that on the Katacomben, by H. Merz. An excellent article on Hebrew Poetry has been furnished by Professor E. Reuss, of Strassburg; and one of equal excellency on the Hebrew Language, by Professor Bertheau, of Göttingen. Some of the main branches of theology, as well as several auxiliary sciences, are represented in these volumes: as Ethics, by Dr. Christlieb; Homiletics, Hermeneutics, Church History, by Hauck, the new associate editor; Church Law, by Wasser-schleben; Church Music, by E. Krüger; Catechetics, by Zezschwitz. Joshua, Judges, Jonah, and other articles on the Old Testament, have been written by Professor Volck, of Dorpat; the History of Israel before Christ, by Oehler; and the History of the Jews since the beginning of the Christian Era, by Pressel; St. John the Apostle, by Dr. Ebrard; Irenæus, by Zahn; Justinus the Martyr, by Professor Engelhard. Very learned articles on the Canons of the Old and the New Testament have been contributed by H. L. Strack and Woldemar Schmidt; on the Gnosis and Gnostics, by Jacobi; on the Jesuits, by Steitz; on Irvingism, by Köstlin; on the Inquisition, by Benrath. The articles on the ecclesiastical statistics of the several countries give generally full information; they embrace articles on England and Ireland, by Schöll; France, by Pfender; Holland, by Dr. Gerth Van Wyck; Italy, by K. Rönneke. The article on the Greek Church has been written by Dr. Gass, well known as one of the best writers on the subject. Nearly all the authors mentioned above are favorably known in the theological world as writers on the subjects which have been assigned to them by the editors of the *Cyclopædia*, and most of them have been referred to in former numbers of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*. As a specimen of the articles on the religious condition of foreign countries we give, on another page of our present number, a translation of part of the article on Italy.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Higher Criticism and the Bible. A Manual for Students. By WILLIAM B. BOYCE, Wesleyan Minister. 12mo., pp. 473. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1881.

The object of this admirable "Manual" is to furnish a bird's-eye view of the great battle now going on between the self-styled "higher criticism" and the sacred canon. It brings its survey down to the present moment, with such rehearsals of the antecedent facts as are necessary for a complete understanding of "the situation." Those readers and thinkers whose minds have been disturbed by the distant cannonade sending its rumble from beyond ocean, will here find a brief, but clear and comprehensive,

summary of the whole matter. Mr. Boyce seems to be a fine master of the literature of the subject, German and English; for it is to these two nations that the great debate is mainly committed. His survey is symmetrically planned, his diction clear and lively, his judgment acute, and his soundness in the faith unquestionable. The student who is alive to this, one of the most momentous discussions of our century, will find in addition to the work of Bishop Hurst on Rationalism, and Professor Harman's volume on the Canon, a most valuable supplement in this little "Manual," by the "Wesleyan Minister," Mr. Boyce.

It was in 1753 that Astruc, a French physician, suggested the theory that the book of Genesis was composed of two sets of documents, distinguished the one by the use of the term Elohim for the divine name, and the other by the word Jehovah. His suggestion remained lifeless until 1780, when it was indorsed by Eichhorn, under whose patronage it really introduced what was termed by its advocates "a new era in the criticism of the Pentateuch." On Astruc's little hobby the "higher criticism" has ridden, not only into existence, but into a battle of a century, winning in its own view conquest after conquest; and it is now boasting of final victory in the most complete destruction of all authentic biblical literature before the building of the second temple. There is nothing in intellectual history so sweeping as this result save, perhaps, Father Hardouin's annihilation of the entire literatures of the classic ages, or Dugald Stewart's resolution of Sanscrit language and literature into a manufactured system of so-called "Kitchen Latin," invented by the monks of the Middle Ages.

Astruc's suggestion is harmless so far as it implies that Moses used patriarchal documents in the construction of his history previous to his own time. The strong resemblance to the Mosaic of the Assyrian cosmogony, as exhumed by George Smith, confirms this view. The obvious probability is that Abraham came from Assyria bringing the patriarchal documents with him. Nor is there any reason to deny that the two divine names, Elohim and Jehovah, have in themselves a difference of import justifying a preference of one over the other in a given connection. The two designations of our Saviour, Jesus and Christ, have different meanings, suggesting which should be used for a given purpose, and yet either is often used without much regard to the distinction. But assuming Astruc's germinal idea, the rationalistic

critics have run into a strain of adventurous theories whose very extravagance is their own refutation. They render a large part of the text a patchwork contributed not by two different writers, a Jehovist and an Elohist, but by a half dozen or more gentlemen, sitting in social symposium, and manufacturing a verse by piecemeal scraps. There are, created by the critics' pure fancy, a Jehovist, an Elohist, a Jehovist Junior, an Elohist Junior, a Redactor, a Deuteronomist, and a committee of Levitical Legislators, all men in buckram, called into existence like "spirits from the vasty deep," and set to the work by the creative genius of the "Higher Criticism." There are two serious difficulties in bringing all this scheme within the world of common sense. The first is that no such patchwork ever occurred in human history; the second is that if it ever took place in the case of our present text, it is out of the question to suppose that the different parts could be so distinguished and assigned with any certainty to their respective contributors.

It is undoubtedly true that coming down through the long centuries the text of the Old Testament has been subjected to modifications and interpolations, most of which cannot, at the present time, be distinguished or corrected. Mr. Boyce's concessions on this point are ample and yet judicious. "Our present text is an unsafe guide on points in which verbal accuracy and minute niceties are essential. We have reason to infer that the phraseology of the earlier books has been modified from time to time, to some extent, by the removal of obsolete words and expressions, their place being supplied by others of modern date and usage. And although our present text is a recension based upon a thorough revision of the text by Ezra after the captivity, yet it is obvious from the differences in the phraseology, and in occasional omissions and additions found in the Septuagint version, that of this recension there must have been various exemplars, from one or more of which, varying considerably from our text, the Greek translation was made. It is not necessary, however, to suppose with the learned Quarry that there has been a complete modernization of the old Hebrew. That such mere verbal alterations in the letter do not affect the substantial accuracy of the Sacred Writings is obvious, as they do not touch the facts or the teachings therein contained."—Pp. 89, 90. These concessions do not affect the great whole by which the Old and New Testaments are the first and second volumes of God's great Revelation. The great structures of Type and Prophecy still stand. And they

stand authenticated by the ratification of our divine Teacher, who, upon this subject, if not an impostor, is a conclusive authority. Mr. Boyce gives the following summary of His testimony:

1. While some learned scholars have decided that the Patriarchs are mythical personages, our Lord refers to them as real persons. See Matt. iii, 9; viii, 11; xxii, 32; Luke xiii, 28; John viii, 37, 56-58. 2. He represents Abraham as having had a glimpse of *His* office and work. Compare John viii, 56, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it and was glad," with the following verse (57) and with Gen. xxii, 8, 13, 14, and Heb. xi, 17-19. 3. While Bishop Colenso intimates that the name of Moses may be "regarded as merely that of the imaginary leader of the people out of Egypt, a person quite as shadowy and unhistorical as *Aeneas* in the history of Rome, and our own King Arthur," our Lord, "THE GREAT TEACHER," expressly refers to him as a real living actor and lawgiver at the period of the Exodus, and of the residence of Israel in the wilderness. Look at the following passages: "He saith unto them, Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so." Matt. xix, 8; Mark x, 3. "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat." Matt. xxiii, 2. "And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." Luke xvi, 31. "Now that the dead are raised, even Moses showed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; for he is not a God of the dead but of the living; for all live unto him." Luke xx, 37, 38. "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up." John iii, 14. "There is one that accuseth you, even Moses in whom ye trust; for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me, (referring to Deut. xviii, 15;) but if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" John v, 45-47. "Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven, but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven." John vi, 32. "Did not Moses give you the law?" John vii, 19. "Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision." John vii, 22. 4. Our Lord pays special deference to the writings of Moses, that is, the Pentateuch, making it the foundation of his discourse to the disciples on the road to Emmaus: "And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself," and again to the assembled disciples, when he told them that "all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me." Luke xxiv, 27, 44. 5. Our Lord refers in Matt. xxii, 37-40, to Deut. vi, 5, as containing the *first* and great commandment, and to Lev. xix, 18, as containing the *second*. "Then one of them which was a lawyer, asked him a question, tempting him, and saying, Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." But our Lord's highest testimony to the book of Deuteronomy is found in the fact, that in his great temptation after his baptism (as recorded in Matthew, chap. iv) he repels the tempter by three quotations from that book: the quotations are in Deut. viii, 3, and vi, 16, and 13. Well may we apply to the Sadducees of the nineteenth century the words addressed by our Lord to the Sadducees of his day: "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God." Matt. xxiii, 29.—Pp. 175-177.

The latest and most destructive theory is that of Graf, sustained by Wellhausen, according to which the Old Testament is mainly the work of Ezra and his compeers after the captivity. The leading characters of old Hebrew history are myths. The

stories of Abraham, the patriarchs, the prophets Elijah and Elisha, are legends. Of course so sweeping a monstrosity, such a massacre of the history of this wonderful people of the Messiah, does not stand unchallenged. There are Christian scholars amply competent to meet the onslaught. Our great Old Testament Commentaries, Lange and The Speaker's, perform well their part. Nor are we fearful of any surrender or in haste to make any concessions to the spirit of a bold and licentious "criticism" on the sacred canon. We purpose to "hold the fort."

The underlying secret of all this movement is the dogma of antisupernaturalism. With all the ardent faith of a devotee the critic first assumes as axiom the fatality of physics and the absolute impossibility of a supernatural event. There cannot be a miracle, either of action or of prophetic foreknowledge. In regard, then, to the biblical records the problem is not to ascertain whether they are true or not; but, assuming their untruth, to explicate how they came into existence and credit. To secure the triumph of the antisupernatural axiom the whole literature of a people, standing through ages, is to be remorselessly ground to powder. The axiom will neither admit that prophecy prefigured the person and history of the Messiah, nor the miracles of the Messiah himself. The absurdity of the processes by which the conclusions are attained, and the monstrosity of the conclusions themselves, are not fully felt until the whole stupendous abolition is complete, and then comes a revolt of the common sense. Father Hardouin and Bishop Colenso are found to be twin theorists.

But it is not the Bible, the Church, and the religion alone that are swept by this axiom of unfaith. Nature is by it reduced to a mechanism and God to a superfluity. The issue then is the Bible or Atheism. And with the Bible and Theism goes immortality; and man is reduced to the mere animal. Our purest sentiments become coarse and brutalized, our highest aspirations are bent downward. It is a battle for our highest nature. Nor will this degradation stop in thought, philosophy, or religion alone. It demoralizes and brutalizes private and public character and life. It engenders ultra-democracy, anarchy, and communism. Atheistic revolution is the penalty; from which there is no recovery but on the high plane of a firm religious faith which Christ and the Bible alone present.

The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America. With other Occasional Services. Small 12mo., pp. 108. London: Printed in the year MDCCLXXXIV.

The Sunday Service of the Methodists in His Majesty's Dominions. With other Occasional Services. Small 12mo., pp. 108. London: Printed by Frys & Couchman, Worship-street, Upper Moorsfield. 1786.

Though these two volumes cannot be classed with "the latest publications," being brown with venerable age, yet, both as relics of the primitive day of Methodism and suggestive mementos for our own present and future, we are glad to be able to give them a clear place in our "Quarterly Book-Table." The former of the two is the property of Bishop Harris, and the latter belongs to the library of Drew Seminary. The sole difference between the two volumes, so far as we can discover, is in the title-pages, and the absence of one of the Twenty-five Articles in the first volume. They are, in every respect, two editions of the same book. The first was printed without place or name of printer for our American Church after our National Independence of Britain; the second, two years later, for the British Methodists universally.

Both volumes commence with the following note of Introduction, with the same date at bottom:

I believe there is no Liturgy in the World, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, Scriptural, rational piety, than the Common Prayer of the Church of England. And though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it, not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree.

Little alteration is made in the following edition of it, (which I recommend to our Societies in America,) except in the following instances: 1. Most of the holy-days (so called) are omitted, as at present answering no valuable end. 2. The service of the Lord's Day, the length of which has been often complained of, is considerably shortened. 3. Some sentences in the offices of Baptism, and for the Burial of the Dead, are omitted; and, 4. Many Psalms left out, and many parts of the others, as being highly improper for the mouths of a Christian congregation.

BRISTOL, September 9, 1784.

JOHN WESLEY.

Then follows an index of three pages for the Lessons to be read. They are designated by the churchly methods, "Sunday after Advent," "Easter," "Whitsunday," "Trinity," etc. Then follow the prayers and lessons and psalms in full. The Ritual succeeds, with the forms of the ordinances and ordinations, concluding with one hundred and four psalms and hymns. On the whole we suggest some notes.

It was American Methodism which first brought out Mr. Wesley's purposed construction of his societies into a Church. Here as elsewhere he acted upon the suggestions of Providence. He waited four years before he obeyed the unanimous request of the American Methodists to give them an episcopal churchdom. Its

form appears in the first of these two volumes. Two years later he prescribed the same episcopal church-form for all the "Methodists in His Majesty's Dominions." How false is the talk that Mr. Wesley regretted the ordination of Coke! So far from regretting his establishing an Episcopacy in America, he proceeded with a firm and steady step to prescribe the same Episcopacy for England. For that purpose he proceeded to ordain Mather as an English Methodist Bishop under the name of Superintendent, and the issue from his hand of the second of the above volumes, with its threefold ordinations, of three grades of ministers, is conclusive proof that he intended those ordinations to be perpetuated, and the universal establishment forever of one Methodist Episcopal Church. Had his purpose been completely accomplished our coming Ecumenical Conference would have been the assemblage of a purely Episcopal body of Churches. As it is, we shall have a truly Methodist, but not perfectly Wesleyan, assemblage. The several American Episcopal Methodisms are alone in form completely Wesleyan Churches.

The question was raised in our last General Conference, When does a man become Bishop—at and by his election, or by his ordination? Strange that such a question should be raised by any Methodist competent to be elected to General Conference! Wesley ordained and made Coke a Bishop irrespective of any election whatever. Wesley's words of ordination were, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Superintendent in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands," etc. It is not by the election, (for Coke was not elected at all,) but by the imposition of hands that the office and work of a Bishop are committed unto the candidate. Equally explicit is our own modified form, "The Lord pour upon thee the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the authority of the Church through the imposition of our hands," etc. According to this most excellent form, the episcopate is conferred by the manual imposition, but cannot be conferred otherwise than by "the authority of the Church," given through the General Conference election. The Church authorizes the officiating Bishop to "commit" the office to the candidate. The election selects the man, the imposition confers the office.

Our Bishops in 1844 said that the action of ordination was to "confirm" the election of the candidates. In the ordinary meaning of the word "confirm" that statement is certainly not true.

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Or at least it does not express the full import of the action. The election is a complete act, a fact accomplished, and neither receives nor needs any confirmation. What the imposition of hands does is to "commit" the office to the man already fully elected. On the one hand, the election does not commit the office to the elect man; on the other, the ordaining Bishop has no power to refuse to ordain, or to ordain a man not elected. Should the Bishop refuse to ordain he would be guilty of contumacy. Should one or more Bishops, or one or more elders, ordain a man not elected by the proper authority, no Annual Conference and no part of the Church could properly accept his authority. If, however, some other Christian body elects, either before or after the ordination, the man so ordained, he is indeed their Bishop, and may be acknowledged as such. It is by the proper imposition of hands that the Bishop is made, (as Coke by Wesley;) it is by the election that he is appropriated by a particular Church as its Bishop. An ordained but not elected Bishop would be Bishop of no Church and of nothing.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for 1880. 12mo., pp. 64. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press. 1880.

During the thirteen years of its existence this society has disbursed near nine hundred thousand dollars. It has established six chartered institutions, being so-called colleges and universities, three theological schools, one medical, and ten unchartered academies and schools. It has taught nearly half a million scholars. A few Southern statesmen and ministers have begun to shed the sunshine of their faces on the work. The encouragements appearing have created the purpose of enlarging the field and including the poor whites, whom the old slaveocracy and the present remnants of that class have stigmatized as "white trash," and given over to brutalization.

Bishop Warren, in his speech at the anniversary, gives us a fine mixture of the figures of rhetoric and arithmetic. The following illustrates the wisdom of the neglect of or opposition to common schools: "Massachusetts raises for each one of its school population \$15 26, North Carolina 77 cents, and Georgia but 95 cents. We will not compare States so differently situated, but two that lie almost along side, one settled by Northern and one by Southern people and ideas. In 1877 Kansas sent 87 per cent. of its children to school, Arkansas only 8 per cent.

Kansas raised \$5 65 per child for education, Arkansas only about 50 cents. Commissioner Eaton says: 'A sadder statement for a single year could hardly be penned.' In 1878 the school population of Arkansas increased 12,708, but the number of pupils attending school increased only 377. In the Educational Report of General Eaton for 1877 we find that the six States of South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Georgia reduced their meager appropriations for schools by over \$2,000,000. In the report of 1878, the last issued, we find that Alabama, Arkansas, Virginia, and Kentucky are still backsliding. It is no comfort that they cannot go much farther; they are so near bottom now. Kentucky joins Delaware in the shame of giving people of color no educational advantage that they do not pay for themselves."—Pp. 54, 55.

The following illustrates the qualifications of the "Solid South" to govern the country: "The census of 1870 shall add a fact or two. By that census Massachusetts had \$1,463 for every man, woman, and child on its soil; Alabama had \$202; Georgia, \$226; North Carolina, \$243. The beggarly style in which the great mass of the people live cannot be appreciated except by the discomforts of an actual experience. President Fairchild, of Berea College, Kentucky, speaks of twenty counties in that State in which more than half of the people are unable to read. In six counties he says he found but one good school-house, and half of the people live in houses without windows. There has not been a single year between 1869 and 1879 when the single State of Illinois has not paid from once to twice as much internal revenue as the whole eleven Confederate States together."—P. 55. These solemn facts are a striking comment on the declaration made by Southern brethren that we are "not needed in the South."

We seem to hear of late the premonitory utterance of a proposal on the part of our brethren of the Church South that all our work and results in their section should—strange to say—be coolly and clearly cut off from our own future control, and handed over to the jurisdiction of the Church South. If we rightly understand the utterance, our delegation to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference soon to be held in London, may be met by a scheme to so cut up our entire Methodist Church into sections as that the entire Episcopal Methodism South will be incorporated into the Church South. We shall at present suggest but a single query as to this transfer of all our membership, schools, and churches to that jurisdiction.

That query lies in the total want of sympathy in the Church South with our entire Christian philanthropic work in the South. That work there exists in spite of their very unanimous opposition. The election of a line of Democratic instead of Republican Presidents would have probably enabled and induced the populace to expel our agencies from the South. And up to the present hour we hear the report of a speech from Bishop Pierce maintaining that we have no business in the South. We are not aware that our Southern brethren have established, as Church work, a single colored academy or school. Their last General Conference withheld all expression, not only of approval of *our* work, but even of *any* colored educational work. They set off from their own communion years ago a colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and granted them ordination and the legal ownership of their Church property on express condition that they should not join the "North Church," but never, we believe, have they given them a penny or a good word for the education of their ministry. We must see a very unanimous and total change of heart on this subject—we must see the creation of a hitherto non-existent "enthusiasm of humanity" toward the body and soul of both negro and poor white—before we can entertain the proposal, or even thought, of placing this great and glorious enterprise under their control. When the Bishops and ministry and press and laity of the Church South can say to us in genial sympathy: "Brethren, we appreciate your self-sacrificing liberalities and toils; we rejoice with bounding hearts at your success; we desire the enlightenment of the ignorant and the upraising of the poor and downtrodden, of whatever race or color; and we exult in joining and emulating you with full heart, hand, and purse in your labor of Christian love"—then we may begin to think of leaving the work in their hands. No such utterances or spirit, and no action in accordance with such utterances or spirit, have, with a noble exception or two, been heard to this hour. The frown is still upon the face, and the cold shoulder is still spread, and episcopal announcements still declare that we are not needed in the South. To this generous proposal of theirs, therefore, to take the fee-simple of the temporalities and spiritualities of our Southern field into their own hands, we should most cordially reply: "Brethren, we admit the magnanimity of your offer; but your slavery-born propensities are still too strong within you, and we dare not as yet trust our humble wards in your guardianship."

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET.
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1877.

This is a popular commentary intended to convey to its readers the results of critical study. It is from the pen of an eminent English Wesleyan scholar. An Arminian dogmatic interest is predominant in the exposition; yet, we think, in no such manner as to impair its fairness. The epistle is carefully analyzed, and the comment follows the analysis. The first division extends from chapter i, 18 to iii, 20, with the title, "All are guilty." Division II, from chapter iii, 21, to chapter v, includes "Sanctification and its Results." Division III, "The New Life in Christ," chapters vi-viii. Division IV, "The Harmony of the Old and the New," chapters ix-xi. Division V, "Practical Lessons," chapter xii to the end of the epistle. Special pains are taken to explain leading terms, such as "faith, holiness, election," etc. On adoption and the witness of the Spirit the author is clear and satisfactory. "In the order of cause and effect"—we give his concluding sentences on the passage—"the witness of God's Spirit precedes that of our own spirit; but in the order of our thought our own cry comes first. We are first conscious of our own filial confidence, and then remember that it was wrought in us by the Holy Spirit." On election and predestination the notes are very full, and the view taken is both reasonable and logically consistent. The doctrinal mistakes of Calvin and Augustine are pointed out, and at the same time justice is done to their sincere effort to protect the Church from Pelagian error. The Predestinarianism of the fathers of the Protestant Reformation was undoubtedly a reaction from the Catholic dogma of the satisfaction of divine justice by human works. Their going to the opposite extreme is not without precedent in the history of human thought.

The expression, "They who put to death the actions of the body," appears to us to be uncouth, if not unmeaning. The author's desire to develop Wesleyan theology leads him to add much matter to what is strictly exposition of the text; but for popular use this is, perhaps, no disadvantage.

The Four Gospels ; or, The Gospel for All the World. By D. S. GREGORY, Professor of the Mental Sciences and English Literature in the University of Worcester. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

In this volume Professor Gregory endeavors to solve the question why we have a fourfold life of Christ. He follows the classification accepted by many critics, that Matthew's is the Gospel for

the Jew, Mark's for the Roman, Luke's for the Greek, and John's for the Church. Under each head he gives, first, the historical, and then the critical view of the adaptation of each to its purpose. Thus, for instance, it is shown that the central idea of the Gospel of Matthew is that Jesus is the Messiah, and that this idea is the key to its meaning. Mark presents the successive stages of the work of Jesus as the divine Conqueror in establishing his universal empire. The historical testimonies are compactly summed up, and a good critical analysis is presented of the Gospels in their turn.

It is possible to push this theory too far; and it may be a question whether it has not been pushed too far by Professor Gregory. The three synoptical Gospels were undoubtedly intended each for a certain race or people; and this fact may have determined the selection of matter and the form of its presentation. But that Mark had in his mind the establishment of such a thesis as Professor Gregory ascribes to him may well be doubted. All the evangelists agree in the purpose to show that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, but beyond this, in our opinion, they attempted nothing farther than to adapt themselves to the persons among whom the Gospels were intended to circulate. John affirms the purpose of his Gospel to be the general one we have named. (Chap. xx, 31.) He may have intended, besides, to supplement the synoptists, which he certainly did. But whatever may be thought of Professor Gregory's theory his book is a most excellent one; it condenses into a small compass a large amount of valuable information.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. From the German, with the Sanction of the Author. The Translation Revised and Edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D. *The Epistle to the Ephesians and The Epistle to Philemon.* 8vo., pp. 383. *The Epistle to the Thessalonians.* By Dr. GOTTLIEB LUNEMANN. Translated from the Third Edition of the German, by Rev. PATON J. GLOAG, D.D. 8vo., pp. 254. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880.

Biblical scholars will watch and welcome the progress of this great work. With the volume containing Ephesians and Philemon the master-hand of Meyer ceases its work. It is marvelous that one man should have achieved so great a task. His successors, Lunemann, Huther, and Düsterdieck, though unequal to the master, have worthily continued the work. The Clarks will issue all the volumes with the possible exception of Düsterdieck's Apocalypse. The accuracy of the translators' and

publishers' part of the work is, we believe, very complete; and the exegetical student will rejoice in seeing this plain but handsome set standing on his library shelves.

History of Christian Doctrines. By the late Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theology at Basel. Translated from the fifth and last German edition, with additions from other sources, with Introduction by E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, London; Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. 8vo. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. New York: [Scribners' imported edition; price, \$3.]

One condition of being a good theologian is a thorough acquaintance with the history of the doctrinal thought of the Christian Church of past ages. No author, on this subject, rivals Hagenbach. We welcome the steady progress of this new and latest edition.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Introduction to the Science of Language. By A. H. SAYCE, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. In two volumes, crown 8vo., pp. 441, 421. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

The work of Professor A. H. Sayce, which he modestly styles "An Introduction to the Science of Language," marks an epoch in the most fascinating, and also the most fruitful, branch of "The New Learning." Bopp published his work, "*Das Conjugations-system*," in 1876, and this work laid the first stone of the science of comparative philology; but his "Sanskrit Grammar" did not appear until 1827, and from this latter event we may more appropriately date the commencement of work upon this new temple of knowledge. Professor Sayce introduces the student to a science which has been built up in half a century. Doubtless a good deal of older knowledge has entered into the building; but, as a rule, it has had to be taken out again. The new science rose upon the site of the old grammar, and yet it has entirely reconstructed this ground upon which it built. So that, while grammar may be said to have grown into the science of language, it may also be said that the science of language has made a new system of grammars. It is a very striking fact that this new science, which, though it has a well-defined field, touches all the great knowledge and faith questions of our times, has been kept so free from entangling alliances with the sleepless and unforgiving controversies of the age. This happy result is due to the genuine scholarship and disciplined culture of those who

have pursued these studies in language. While some men cannot talk about light without letting fly poisoned arrows at religion, the professors of comparative philology have been able to express their views upon collateral issues in all the momentous debates with such discretion, candor, and modesty as to retain the good-will of all the fraternities of knowledge.

If these two volumes be only "An Introduction" there must be a large place beyond their gates. In the strictest sense, it is only an introduction which Professor Sayce has written. He leads his reader up to the several problems presented by linguistics, opens each one of them fully enough to make clear its nature, difficulties, and limits, and leaves his reader face to face with the work left for the studies of the future. Every knowledge has its impassable bounds; somewhere the discoverer must write *ne plus ultra*; a science has reached a certain stability, and even venerableness, when it can say, "I do not know and I cannot find out." Linguistic study can scarcely be said to have defined its limits so as to be able to confess its powerlessness in certain directions. It has cast out of its domain a number of questions, (such as race, for example,) and it has greatly changed the forms of others, (the origin of language is a specimen,) so that what remains to be studied is stated in such terms as to suggest that research may make all things plain—all, that is to say, which is accepted as within the province of the science of language.

In this science the first has become last; its first serious wrestle was with comparative morphology, but no sooner had the grammatical forms yielded up their laws than the student of them began to send morphology to the rear, and now Professor Sayce hesitatingly assigns morphology a place at the end of the line. Phonology, the science of intelligent sounds, and sematology, the science of meanings in words, are now the two main branches of the science. Morphology, according to Professor Sayce, is essentially a matter of syntax, but it retains in his work the office of determining the classification of languages because the mode of constructing the sentence remains the best-known principle of classification. Phonology is the region of positive knowledge, intelligent sounds are things of physics and physiology, and, therefore, ponderable and measurable. Meanings are in the realm of metaphysics, and involve some of the most subtle and subtile mental phenomena. Morphology originates in the metaphysical region, but evolves itself into the ponderable facts of syntax.

It is an interesting fact that phonology, though it is the physical domain, cannot afford us a principle of classification. The distribution of languages into families has to be effected by grouping mental results as they appear in the sentence. And so perplexingly common is the mind of man that all kinds of syntax occur in all languages, so that the groups have to be made by collating only the predominant syntactical characteristics of every speech. The inference is unavoidable that the ardor with which phonology has been pursued, and the hopes based upon the microphone or other mirrors of sound, have met, and must meet, disappointment. Language does, indeed, consist of sounds, but the contents are so much the larger and more masterful part that the poor shells of sound sink into relative insignificance. "We have," says Professor Sayce, "to discover the different mental points of view from which the structure of the sentence was regarded by different races of mankind; to investigate and compare the various contrivances and processes through which these points of view eventually found their fullest expression; to classify the modes of denoting the relations of grammar at the disposal of language; to examine the nature of composition and of stems in the groups of speech of which they are characteristic; to analyze the conceptions of grammar, and to determine the elements and germs out of which they have sprung; and, finally, to ascertain the true origin and meaning of the so-called rules of syntax, and keep record of the changes that take place in the change of words."—Vol. i, p. 440. To pursue such studies successfully, we must, according to our author, give less attention to roots and single words. "We shall never," he says, "have a satisfactory starting-point for our classification unless we put both word and root out of sight, and confine ourselves to the sentence or proposition, and the ways in which the sentence may be expressed."—Vol. i, p. 369. The sentence is, historically, anterior to the words of which it may now be composed. Grammar grew from resolution of the sentence into its elements. "In the less advanced American languages the several members of the sentence have never attained the rank of independent words which can be set apart and employed by themselves." The present reviewer several years ago made the suggestion in these pages that common household speech consists of sentences, and he believes that the Genoese peasant is incapable of resolving his speech into words.

Probably the most satisfactory chapter in this book is that devoted to roots. Starting from the endless discussion whether the

first roots were nouns or verbs, Professor Sayce advances to the general conclusion that the primordial root was rather a mental type than a real word; "it was an unexpressed, unconsciously felt type which floated before the mind of the speaker, and determined him in the choice of the words he formed." "The primordial types which presented themselves almost unconsciously before the framers of language, which lay implicit in the words they created, must be discovered and made explicit by the comparative philologist. Just as the phonologist breaks up words into their component sounds, so must the philologist break up groups of allied words into their roots, for roots are to groups of words what the letters and syllables are to each word by itself." In other terms, our search for roots is an attempt to trace the mental operations in speech of those who did not speak these types, but only had them unexpressed in their minds. Following this line of reasoning we see, of course, that Professor Whitney speculated unprofitably when he told us that the Aryan group of languages were descended from a monosyllabic tongue; that our ancestors talked to each other in single syllables. Professor Sayce pronounces such a language "a sheer impossibility," contradicted by all that we know of savage and barbarous dialects. The general student will be refreshed to know this; and he may also take comfort from knowing that the so-called primordial roots are the grammatical children of our philologists. "The so-called 'root period' of the primitive Aryan really means the analysis of the most ancient Aryan vocabulary which a comparison of the later dialects enables us to make. Behind that root-period lay another, of which obscure glimpses are given us by the roots we can still further decompose."—Vol. ii, p. 10.

The brief compass of a book notice restrains us from much comment upon the inferential views of Professor Sayce upon several subjects. He is a strong advocate of an improved spelling for our language. For that matter, all scholars are substantially agreed that our spelling is bad. The differences among them are entirely respecting the possibility of improving the spelling of a language written by a hundred millions of people now belting the world. Science can make no valuable contributions to this question until the practical parts of the problem seem less difficult. Perhaps time and the very sensible discussion of the subject, which is now common, may prepare the way for the introduction of an improved spelling. When we want one, the researches and experiments in phonology, of which Professor Sayce

makes a useful record in his fourth chapter, will furnish principles to guide the reformer. The conclusion which our author reaches respecting the age of human speech seem to us less satisfactory. He believes that "the antiquity of man as a speaker is vast and indefinite." It is possible, of course, that before the oldest record of spoken language there was a vast period of growth and decay, a long struggle with imperfect vocalization, a slow progress up from interjections into sentence words and thence into artificial grammar; it is possible, but it is not proved or provable. We have no time-piece for the mental growth which underlies grammar. We may come to possess one, but it is, perhaps, hardly to be expected that we shall. At all events, a true student must continue to shrink from affirming that there are ever so many cities under the remains of the last-found predecessor of Troy.

D. H. W.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Invasion of the Crimea; Its Origin and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By ALEXANDER WILLIAM KINGLAKE. Vol. IV.

The subject treated in this volume is very appropriately designated "the winter troubles." The victory won by the Allies at Inkerman did not relieve them from the necessity of spending the winter of 1854-55 on the bleak and barren downs known as the Chersonese Heights. The battle of Alma, fought in September, had made them virtually masters of the whole Crimea, Sebastapool and the Chersonese only excepted, and of these the defeated Russians had at that moment only a very weak hold. But when the Allies committed the grave military blunder of marching by the Russian flank to the south of Sebastapool, they left all the communications of their enemy open, and thereby enabled him to pour in those reinforcements which put him in a condition, not merely to make a most obstinate defense of the fortress, but also to so hem in the allied forces that they could not stir beyond the ground on which they were encamped. Hence the commissariat of the allied armies was wholly dependent on supplies sent from England and France.

Two results followed this dependence. It demonstrated the incapacity of both the French and English systems of military administration, and it involved both armies in a depth of privation and suffering rarely paralleled in the cruel records of war.

The volume before us fearlessly, faithfully exhibits the factors which enter into the demonstration of the former point; and it portrays with graphic force the terrible and long-continued misery so heroically and patiently endured by the unfortunate soldiers in both camps. Nor were the sufferings of the Russians much less severe than those of their besiegers. It is true they were better sheltered; but, owing to the impossibility of forwarding suitable and sufficient supplies for such vast numbers to a point so far distant from the base as the Crimea, they were subjected to almost inconceivable privations. Taking into account the length of time during which all three armies suffered the horrors of that terrible winter, we know of no other leaf in the annals of human wars more painfully illustrative of their folly and cruelty.

In nothing was the English war department more inefficient than in its hospital arrangements. Hundreds of men died in them who, under better treatment, might have been restored to health. When the disgraceful facts reached England, a new force arose. The women of England, represented by Miss Stanley, Florence Nightingale, and other self-sacrificing ladies, hastened to nurse the sick and console the dying victims of the war. Mr. Kinglake does ample justice to those devoted women, as he does also to Lord Raglan, the noble-minded, patient, and sorely tried British commander. Though not treating of brilliant deeds of arms, but of the nobler courage which refused to yield in face of difficulties so grim as to invite despair, this volume wins the reader's attention as readily as either of its predecessors.

Memorials of Gilbert Haven, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by W. H. DANIELS, author of "The Illustrated History of Methodism," "D. L. Moody and his Work," "The Temperance Reform," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. BRADFORD K. PIERCE, D.D., Editor of "Zion's Herald." 12mo., pp. 359. Boston: B. B. Russell & Co. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. Philadelphia: Quaker City Publishing House. 1880.

Without waiting the deliberate movements of official biographers, Mr. Daniels has here gathered the materials of a beautiful memorial to the Bishop. A brief biography, a collection of eulogies, a series of "Havenisms," being passages from his writings and details of his opinions, illustrated with eight engravings, form its contents. It is most tastefully done up by the publishers, in blue and gilt, on fine paper and liberal print, forming a memento pleasing to the eye. The engraved likeness of the Bishop as frontispiece wonderfully presents the blended force and mildness of his nature.

Ilios, the City and Country of the Trojans: The Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and throughout the Troad in the Years 1871-72-73-78-79. Including an Autobiography of the Author. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN. With a Preface, Appendices, and Notes, by Professors RUDOLPH VIRCHOW, MAX MÜLLER, A. H. SAYCE, J. P. MAHAFFY, H. BRUGSCH-BEY, P. ACHERSON, M. A. POSTOLACCAS, M. E. BURNOUR, Mr. F. CALVERT, and Mr. A. J. DUFFIELD. With Maps, Plans, and about 1,800 Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 800. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Schliemann, his history, researches, and achievements, are a real-life romance. The whole story is marvelous and unique—"truth stranger than fiction." He was born in 1822, the son of a Prussian clergyman, and was early fired by his father's conversation with an enthusiasm for Homer and Troy, and a desire to exhume the buried remains of the Homeric city. His enthusiastic talk on the subject made him the laughing-stock of all his young associates save two sweet maidens, the younger of whom especially utterly won his heart by listening to and sympathizing with his enthusiasm. His love for her energized his soul and body for the giant work. He learned languages in his own unique way with a marvelous rapidity, and, entering into trade, grew rich with as marvelous a facility. The moment he was rich enough for marriage he sent his offer to his distant sweetheart, which arrived, alas! a few days after her marriage to another. He subsequently married an Athenian lady, who not only sympathized in his enthusiasms, but heroically shared in the dangers and fatigues of his labors. He believes, with a serene faith, that a gracious providence guided him. He gave up trade and traveled to all the most interesting points of the world. While in California the adoption of a new constitution made all present residents American citizens; so that Schliemann was overslaughed with an American citizenship, and jubilantly and proudly, finds himself one of the universal Yankees! At the proper time for his immediate mission of "resurrecting" dead and buried Troy, he obtained leave from the Turkish government, by aid of European and American ministers, and, bringing a small army of diggers to the hill of Hissarlik, he cut it from summit to bottom with enormous gorges. The magnificent book before us tells us his latest and fullest story. Nor does he now tell his simple story alone. Attended by a body-guard of men like Virchow, Max Müller, and others above named, he may safely hold himself no longer amenable to questionings of his honesty or even to captious criticisms upon his work. His triumph is complete.

Coming, then, to Hissarlik, the mound of Troy, the spade of Schliemann pierced down through seven successive cities to the

basal limestone rock. These successive urban strata are presented to our eye in the following

DIAGRAM.

<i>Mètres.</i>	<i>Feet (abt.)</i>	<i>Surface.</i>
20	6	Stratum of the 7th City, the Aeolic Ilium.
2	6½	Remains of the 6th, the Lydian City.
20		Stratum of the 5th City.
4	13	
20		Stratum of the 4th City.
7	23	
20		Stratum of the 3d, the Burnt City, the Homeric Ilios.
10	33	
4 10 6		Stratum of the 2d City.
13½	45	
to	to	Stratum of the 1st City.
16	52½	
<p>Native rock.—Its present height above the sea is 109½ feet. Its present height above the plain at the foot of the hill is consequently 59½ feet, but it may probably have been 16 or 20 feet more at the time of the Trojan war, the plain having increased in height by the alluvia of the rivers and the detritus of vegetable and animal matter.</p>		

The first, or bottom city, resting upon the rock, was without walls, and abounds in pottery, which, if taken as a test of civilization, proves the bottom city to be superior to the city above it. Simple plastic clay seems divinely provided for man's earliest efforts at forming permanent vessels and utensils; being, in fact, earlier accessible than metals, and more pliable to man's rude hand than wood. Hence urns, jars, and bowls of hand-shaped and sun-dried or fire-baked clay, stand in place of wooden coffins,

boxes, and wash-tubs, having the advantage of easier formation, and then enduring to bear their testimony to future ages. Besides pottery, there were here found stone implements and articles of gold, silver, and copper, but no iron. Gold readily reveals itself to man by its glitter and beauty, and copper by its purity in solid lumps; but iron lies concealed in the ore until art detects and develops it. Yet in Genesis Tubal-cain was an iron-dealer before the flood. Iron, however, is said to be mentioned in the Pentateuch but thirteen times, while brass (the mixture of copper and tin) occurs twenty-four times. Of the *second city*, the layer reveals a specimen of the phallus, indicating that that strange worship was contemporary with that stratum. Derived, probably, from Phœnicia, this emblem signalized the worship of the generative power of nature, having the bull and the cow for its animal generative symbols, and referring to the sun as the great generator of life, and the moon as his sister and wife. These appear as Baal and Ashtoreth in the Hebrew history. The third city, "the burnt city," is the center of interest, as being the locality celebrated in Homeric song. Even this city discloses no iron, and not a single specimen of a sword. It is the opinion of Virchow that it is not to the West that we must look for correlated archæology with that of Hissarlik, but to the East—to Assyria and Egypt. This accords with the biblical account, which reveals the cradle of the race in Asia pouring its migrations westward. Troy stood in the great highway of transition across the Hellespont to Europe. And this third city displays the signs of such a conflagration as every Latin student has found depicted in the early pages of Virgil. "Here," says Virchow, "was a great devouring fire, in which the clay walls of the buildings were molten and made fluid like wax, so that congealed drops of glass bear witness at the present day to the mighty conflagration. Only at a few places are cinders left, whose structure enables us to discover what was burnt—whether wood or straw or wheat or pease. A very small part of this city has escaped the fire; and only here and there in the burned parts have portions of the houses remained uninjured beneath the rubbish of the foundering walls. Almost the whole is burned to ashes. How enormous must have been the fire that devoured all this splendor! And in spite of all this what riches have been brought to light out of the ashes! Treasures of gold, one after another, presented themselves to the astonished eye. The possession of such treasures must have become famous far and wide. The splendor of

this chieftain must have awakened envy and covetousness; and the ruin of his high fortress can signify nothing less than his own downfall and the destruction of his race."

Troy and its downfall were real historic facts. Magnified and glorified by the poets as they were, so that we can draw no clear line between fact and legend, facts lay at the base of the legend. History, chronology, and topography are all too definite and coincident to allow a reasonable doubt. And the burned city exhumed by Schliemann's spade is the locality and remnant of the real Homeric Troy. To believe that all the coincidences that unite in demonstrating this identity are fallacious is credulity, not healthful skepticism. For, first, while all agree that the Homeric locality was in the Troad, there is no other spot than Hissarlik that can raise pretension. Two localities have been named, but the inevitable spade demonstrates the fact that neither of them can show the remains of an ancient city, and so their rivalry has no existence. On the contrary, Hissarlik has the suffrage, unanimous and supreme, of all antiquity. Demetrius, of Scepsis, a late writer, was the first to question this site, and Professor Mahaffy has in the present volume shown the motive and fallacy of his falsehood. The claims of Bournabashi are refuted by its distance from the sea-shore, by its want of all ancient testimony, and by the unanswerable logic of the spade. When Xerxes came from Asia with his millions to conquer Europe he went up to the hill of Hissarlik to pay his homage to the heroes of Troy. When Alexander marched from Europe to conquer Asia he stood upon the summit of Hissarlik and offered his homage alike to Achilles and to Homer. Here, all true antiquity said, was the site of the burned Troy; and here Schliemann, in our day, has thrust in his spade *and found it*.

It seems a formidable objection to Hissarlik as the site of the Homeric Ilion that due measurement shows not space enough for more than a respectable village of three thousand inhabitants. Schliemann's answer to this objection is important because applicable to other ancient foundations than those of Troy. Scholars, classical and biblical, have been too little observant of the smallness of ancient cities, especially at their commencements. Says Schliemann:

As regards the size of all the pre-historic cities, I repeat that they were but very small. In fact, we can hardly too much contract our ideas of the dimensions of those primeval cities. . . . So, according to the Attic tradition, Athens was built by the Pelasgians, and was limited to the small rock of the Acropolis, whose plateau is of oval form, nine hundred feet long and four hundred feet broad at its broadest

part; but it was much smaller still until Cimon enlarged it by building the wall on its eastern declivity and leveling the slope within by means of *débris*. The Ionians, having captured the city, forced the Pelasgians to settle at the southern foot of the Acropolis. According to Thucydides, Athens was only enlarged by the coalescence of the Attic demi there (*συνοικισμός*) effected by Theseus. In like manner Athens, (*Ἀθῆναι*), Thebes, (*Θῆβαι*), Mycenæ, (*Μυκῆναι*), and all the other cities whose names are of the plural form, were probably at first limited to their stronghold, called *πόλις*, and had their names in the singular; but the cities having been enlarged, they received the plural name, the citadel being then called Acropolis, and the lower town *πόλις*. The most striking proof of this is the name of the valley "Polis," in Ithaca, which, as I have shown above, is not derived from a real city, or acropolis—for my excavations there have proved that this *single* fertile valley in the island can never have been the site of a city—but from a natural rock, which has never been touched by the hand of man. This rock, however, having—as seen from below—precisely the shape of a citadel, is for this reason now called *castron*, and was, no doubt, in ancient times called *Polis*, which name has been transferred to the valley.

The ancient Polis or Asty (*ἄστυ*) was the ordinary habitation of the town-chief or king, with his family and dependents, as well as of the richer classes of the people; it was the site of the Agora and the temples, and the general place of refuge in time of danger. We have traces of this fact in the extended sense of the Italian *castello*, to embrace a town, and in the Anglo-Saxon *burh*; also, as Professor Virchow suggests to me, in the Slavish *gard=hortus*, (Burgwall.) "What, indeed," says Mr. Gladstone, "have we to say when we find that, in the period of the *incunabula* of Rome, the Romans on the Palatine were probably faced by the Sabines on the hill of the Capitol?" It is, therefore, not the smallness of the third, the burned city, which can prevent us from identifying it with the Homeric Troy, because Homer is not a historian, but an epic poet.—Pp. 514, 515.

These views appear to solve some difficulties in biblical history, especially those statements that seem to demand a larger primitive population than the chronology appears to admit. Thus Cain (Gen. iv, 17) "builded a city" in the land of Nod. That is, he fortified a nook which became, in a few decades, his castle, and in centuries a city that boasted of him as its founder. And so "the beginning" of Nimrod's kingdom, in Gen. x, 10, were three or four hunting rendezvous in the land of Shinar which became the ultimate foundation of the Assyrian Empire. So Mizraim led a body of emigrants to Egypt, somewhat larger, probably, than the household of Jacob, which in a subsequent age descended to the same country.

The revelations of Schliemann in regard to Troy come into no collision with biblical history. If we suppose that Homer was nearly contemporary with Solomon, the fall of Troy comes somewhere between Solomon and Moses. The two earlier cities, with their great depth of stratum, we could afford, if necessary, to admit to be antediluvian. On the other hand, the successive ascending strata, while they reveal the fact of progress in human history as a whole, show that progress to be often interrupted by retrogression.

The volume is a specimen of splendid book-making. Its wealth
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of maps, diagrams, and pictures presents the best possible means for bringing the objects of the narrative clear before the mind's eye of the reader. It is done up, externally, in the Harpers' best style, and takes its place not only as "the book of the season," but as a permanent unique in literature.

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Literature and Fiction.

Tales from the Norse Grandmother. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 12mo., pp. 432. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

The literature of old Norse in English has been at the best but scanty, and could boast of scarcely any attempt to popularize its Eddas and Sagas, until the volumes of Professor Anderson appeared. These were unfortunately marred by exaggerated praise of the old Norse as a literature, and immoderate and ungraceful attacks upon our study of Latin, which Mr. Anderson would summarily abolish, (*"Præterea censeo Romam esse delendam,"* he says,) and replace with Norse. This book is written with another purpose, is to the point, and perhaps does not exaggerate the importance or attractiveness of the Norse remains. The worst thing about it is the title, which is neither attractive nor scientific, since the word Edda is not known to mean grandmother, (or great grandmother,) though this interpretation has plausibility and a good following among scholars. But as to the work itself it is deserving of almost unqualified praise. It will not only please young readers, for whom it was written, but every body, and will not repel the learned. Seldom, indeed, do we see a work so carefully and patiently prepared for type. Our author has also very happily extended the mythology of the North a little way into its history, and, by making us think of the people when she tells us of their religious system, has rendered their myths ten-fold more real. The volume is, therefore, much more than a mythology, and vastly more interesting. Nothing is more difficult than to interest a reader, not a Norse specialist, or otherwise prepared to appreciate it, in Northern mythology—or, indeed, in the modern masterpieces of Scandinavian literature. There is a chill, a weirdness like that of an opened barrow, which repels. We trust this volume may do much toward awakening an interest in not only the old Scandinavian literature, but also the treasures of the new.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die deutschen Bischöfe und der Aberglaube. Eine Denkschrift. By Prof. Dr. Fr. HEINR. REUSCH. Bonn: 1879, Neusser.

This small octavo of 109 pages ("The German Bishops and Superstition") is not only a true, but a sad, and, in many respects, an amusing record of the duplicity and villainy of the Romish Church, as practiced upon their deluded followers by her bishops and priests in Germany.

The dissemination and encouragement of superstition among the masses have ever been a prolific source of the power of the Roman hierarchy in papal countries.

The priest who is the most expert in exciting and affecting to the greatest extent the credulity of the multitude, is the most popular and successful in his pastoral work, and never fails to be most acceptable to "the abomination that maketh desolate."

Dr. Reusch is an honest, zealous, learned, and an influential representative of the Old Catholic movement, and observes, writes, and speaks in the interest of truth and common sense, and not, as he expresses it, through any desire to injure Catholicism, or bring reproach on it in the eyes of those who do not belong to the Roman Catholic Church, but in the hope that by exposing the damage the sin will cease, and the wish that his publication of the truth may be honestly considered by all those who have at heart the spiritual welfare of German Catholics, and who are called to promote true religion among them.

He says, further, that the substance of his publication is made up of extracts from such writings as have appeared in Germany for the most part since the year 1870, and are disseminated among the Catholic people; that he has added to these extracts only so much as he considered necessary, in order that such readers as are not acquainted with these things may the more easily understand, and rightly estimate, the quotations; that the works from which he quotes are imported chiefly from France; that they appear every year in greater number, in the shops and stores of the best known Catholic booksellers and publishers, and at lowest possible price, so as to insure most certainly the greatest possible sale and quickest circulation; that the continual appearance of later editions and later writings of the same tendency is proof that this kind of literature finds large diffusion; that the German bishops are fearfully responsible for the spread of superstition by

means of these writings, for most of them appear with their approval; that they are responsible, too, for all books and writings that appear without such express approval, since they have the power, according to the laws of the Catholic Church, to demand that all religious writings appearing in their dioceses shall be laid before them for examination, and that they can thus prevent the publication, sale, and circulation of superstitious books among the Catholics. But there is not much to hope in this direction from the clergy of a Church that is ever ready to bestow upon its members blessings and benefits nowhere else to be found, such as indulgences to live to the flesh, and to dispense to the living safe passports to heaven, and for the dead remissions from the tortures of purgatory. Prayer to the heart of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph is recommended to all Catholics as an infallible medium through which to obtain all benefits for themselves, and deliverance for their dead from the flames of purgatory. Aside from this, prayer-unions are organized with such remarkable effect that one of the wonderful results is not unfrequently, in direct answer, freedom from military duty! According to the opinion of a certain French bishop, there is no doubt—for tradition fixes it—that at his last supper Jesus either handed to his mother or sent to her (although she was not in the company of the apostles, but was certainly present in the same house at the Easter solemnity) his sacrificial body and blood, in the form of food and drink. The same remarkably endowed prelate hesitates not to affirm the bodily ascension of the mother of Christ, and adduces as proof incontestable of the fact, the very remarkable circumstance, that the remainder of her clothing is still preserved and honored with most reverential care, in the oldest churches of Christendom. For example, Aix La Chapelle has preserved for more than a thousand years Mary's robe and girdle, which Constantinople four hundred years before had received from Jerusalem, and preserved in her oldest church, the Church of the Virgin; but that no Christian Church had ever been able to show relics of her body, and yet it is well known to be purely impossible that the holy apostolic Church had forgotten or neglected the place where such a treasure reposed. Bishop Martin, of Paderborn, regards this ingenious argument of his French brother bishop as so thoroughly convincing that he takes great delight in imitating him. He also affirms that he *knows* that Mary died (so then dead!) of no other sickness than that of love to her son, Jesus. Such are but a few of many examples cited by Dr. Reusch of the unblushing

manner in which superstition and falsehood are systematically diffused among the Catholic population of philosophic Germany, in order that the priest may the more easily and effectually control the mind and conscience of his deluded flock. The book is all the more interesting and valuable since it comes from one who, having had sufficient experience in the mysteries of Romanism to disgust him, has become awakened to the fact that he has long been groping in thick darkness, and is now honestly seeking after the true light. To preacher and people, and to all who are interested in exposing the tricks of priestcraft, branding the infamy of the Romish Church, advancing the cause of truth, planting pure and deep and firm the principles of our holy religion, and vindicating the purity, simplicity, and power of our glorious Christianity, we earnestly advise a careful perusal of the work.

Archäologische Studien über altchristliche Monumente. Mit 26 Holzschn. By Dr. VICT. SCHULTZE. Wien: 1880, Braumüller.

The above work is not from the hand of a flying traveler who, possessing little or no previous preparation for archæological investigation, visits places of historic importance and observes and studies objects of interest only long enough to form wrong conceptions, and to give off false impressions; but from the hand of a trained and an experienced master, whose great object is to interpret honestly and intelligently the symbols of the faith that sustained the early Christians, not only in life, but remained as an anchor to the soul in the hour and article of death; and to do this not in the interest of this sect or that, or for the propagation and support of this or that system of dogmatics, but in the service of universal Christian truth.

Dr. Schultze, who is a fine classical archæologist, and is well known for his rare powers of exact observation, as well as for his correct appreciation of the conditions of the historical development of the most ancient Christian art, has made, for years, the oldest art monuments of Italy one of his special lines of study, and, as one of the results of his labors, in this interesting field of investigation, presents the reader in this volume an amount of information that is not only astonishing, but, better than all, entirely reliable, and, so far as we know, not to be found in any other work on the same subject.

The work consists of eight essays, preceded by an introduction, in which the author prepares the reader for the better com-

prehension and appreciation of the general principles of his system of interpretation.

His remarks on the symbolism of the *Bilderkreis* of the early Christians are very full of interest. In the first essay, in which the interest of his remarks is much enhanced by a number of important illustrations, the author, in order to apply his principles the better, discusses and interprets very carefully the frescoes of the Sacrament Chapels in S. Callisto.

The subject of the third essay is the Juno Pronuba Sarcophagus in Villa Ludovisi, which the author says has remained to the present unnoticed by the student of old Christian monuments. He assigns this stone coffin to the second half of the fourth century, and regards it as a most interesting example of the syncretism of that period.

The fourth essay relates to the Catacombs of Syracuse. These chambers of the dead, which are as yet but little known, are, in the judgment of Dr. Schultze and also of the writer of this notice, of no little importance, as contributing to the oldest history of Christianity in Sicily.

In number five the author describes and interprets forcibly and clearly, we think, although differing in his interpretation from nearly all other archæologists, a sarcophagus of *S. Paolo fuori le mura*, an old Christian monument about which much has been said and written by different critics.

The next number is a treatise on, and critique of, the old Christian art representations of Mary. In order to this the author makes out a list of forty-two numbers, which he arranges in chronological order, thus giving a general, and at the same time critical, view of images of the Virgin preserved up to the fifth century.

In number seven, which relates to the grave of St. Peter, he shows the traditions of the Church of Rome respecting the location of the grave, to be utterly worthless and supremely ridiculous.

In number eight a description, and, in many instances, short explanations, of one hundred and twenty numbers of the old Christian sculptures found in the *Museo Kircheriano* in Rome, are given.

The work is an octavo of 287 pages, and is furnished with twenty-six wood engravings, and an alphabetical index. We doubt not that all who take an interest in the discovery, study, and interpretation of old Christian monuments, will be pleased

to give it a hearty welcome. To the student of monumental theology, the Christian archæologist, and to the Church, we can recommend it as a work of no little value.

Miscellaneous.

Great Preachers, Ancient and Modern. By Rev. W. H. WITHROW, M.A. 12mo., pp. 221. Toronto: William Briggs, Methodist Book Room. 1880.

Mr. Withrow's name is well known to our readers as an acceptable contributor to our *Quarterly*, and the author of an admirable work on "The Catacombs." His selection of "Preachers" takes a high range among the tallest pulpit orators of the Universal Church of the Christian ages. Of ancient preachers the roll consists of Origen, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and Augustine; of the modern, Francis Xavier, John Knox, Richard Baxter, and George Whitefield. The essays are attractive and elevating pictures of the purest and noblest men of our race.

Letters to a Quaker Friend on Baptism. By WILLIAM TAYLOR, author of "Christian Adventures in South Africa," "Four Years' Campaign in India," "Our South American Cousins," etc. 18mo., pp. 163. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Our stalwart evangelist believes in body as well as in soul. In letters, at once gentle and forcible, he refutes the erroneous spirituality of our Quaker friends, who would abolish the ordinances and retain a semblance of their import. The argument against their view has heretofore been seldom presented, and this little manual is largely original, finding and supplying a blank place in our doctrinal library.

Missionary Concerts for the Sunday-School: A Collection of Declamations, Select Readings, and Dialogues. Compiled by Rev. W. T. SMITH. 16mo., pp. 267. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1881.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *The Dean's Wife.* By Mrs. C. J. EILOART. 4to., pp. 58. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

"*The Human Race*," and *Other Sermons*, Preached at Cheltenham, Oxford, and Brighton. By the late Rev. FREDERICK W. ROBERTSON, M.A. 12mo., pp. 236. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Duty. With Illustrations of Courage, Patience, and Endurance. By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 412. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

A Key to the Apocalypse; or, Revelation of Jesus Christ to St. John in the Isle of Patmos. By Rev. ALFRED BRUNSON, A.M., D.D. 16mo., pp. 215. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

Notes on Baptism: In which its Spirituality as a Covenant, Made or Kept, is Clearly Set Forth and Uniformly Adhered to. By REV. R. GREGG. 16mo., pp. 151. Springfield, Ill.: H. W. Bokker. 1880.

The Story of the United States Navy. For Boys. By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 418. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1881.

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The Mountain Movers; or, A Criticism of so-called Modern Miracles, in Answer to the Prayer of Faith. By STEPHEN H. TYNG, Jun., D.D. 16mo., pp. 32. Paper Covers. New York: The People's Pulpit Publishing Co. 1880.

Christian Heroism: Illustrated in the Life and Character of St. Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles. A Discourse. By A. A. LIPSCOMB, D.D., LL.D. Small 8vo., pp. 56. Paper covers. Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke & Co. 1880.

Platonism versus Christianity: The Question of Immortality, Historically Considered, with special reference to the Apostasy of the Christian Church. To which is annexed an Essay on The Unity of Man. By J. H. PETTINGELL, A. M. 16mo., pp. 97. Paper Covers. Philadelphia: The Bible Banner Association. 1881.

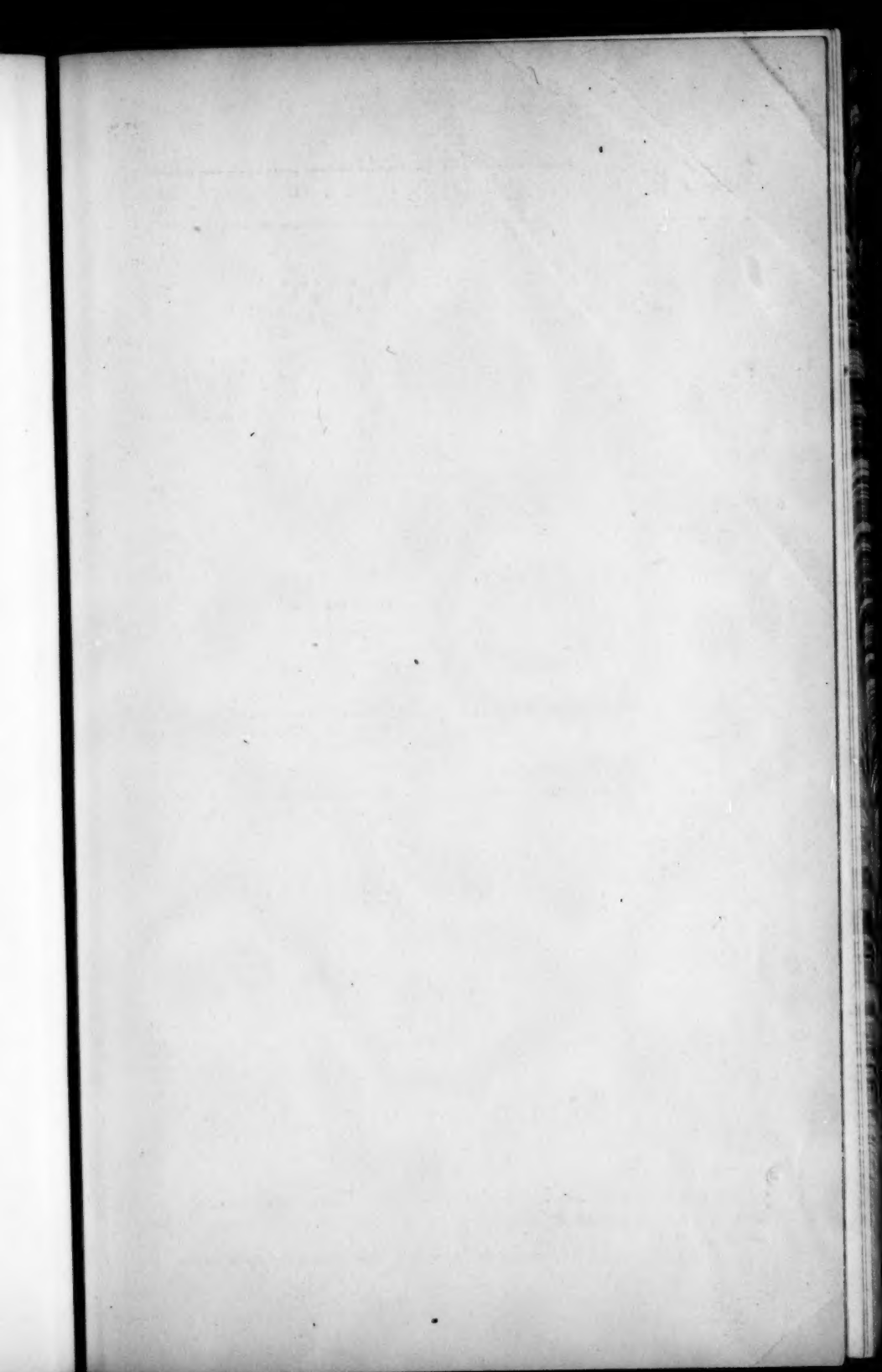
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Catholics and Protestants Agreeing on the School Question. By I. T. HECKER. 8vo., pp. 16. Paper Covers. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1881.

The New South: Gratitude, Amendment, Hope. A Thanksgiving Sermon, for Nov. 25, 1880. By ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, D.D. 8vo., pp. 16. Paper Covers. Oxford, Ga. 1880.

Higher Education of Medical Men, and its Influence on the Profession and the Public. Being the Address delivered before the American Academy of Medicine, at its Fifth Annual Meeting, held at Providence, R. I., Sept. 28, 1880. By F. D. LENTE, A.M., M.D. 8vo., pp. 16. Paper Covers. New York: Chas. L. Bertram & Co. 1880.

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